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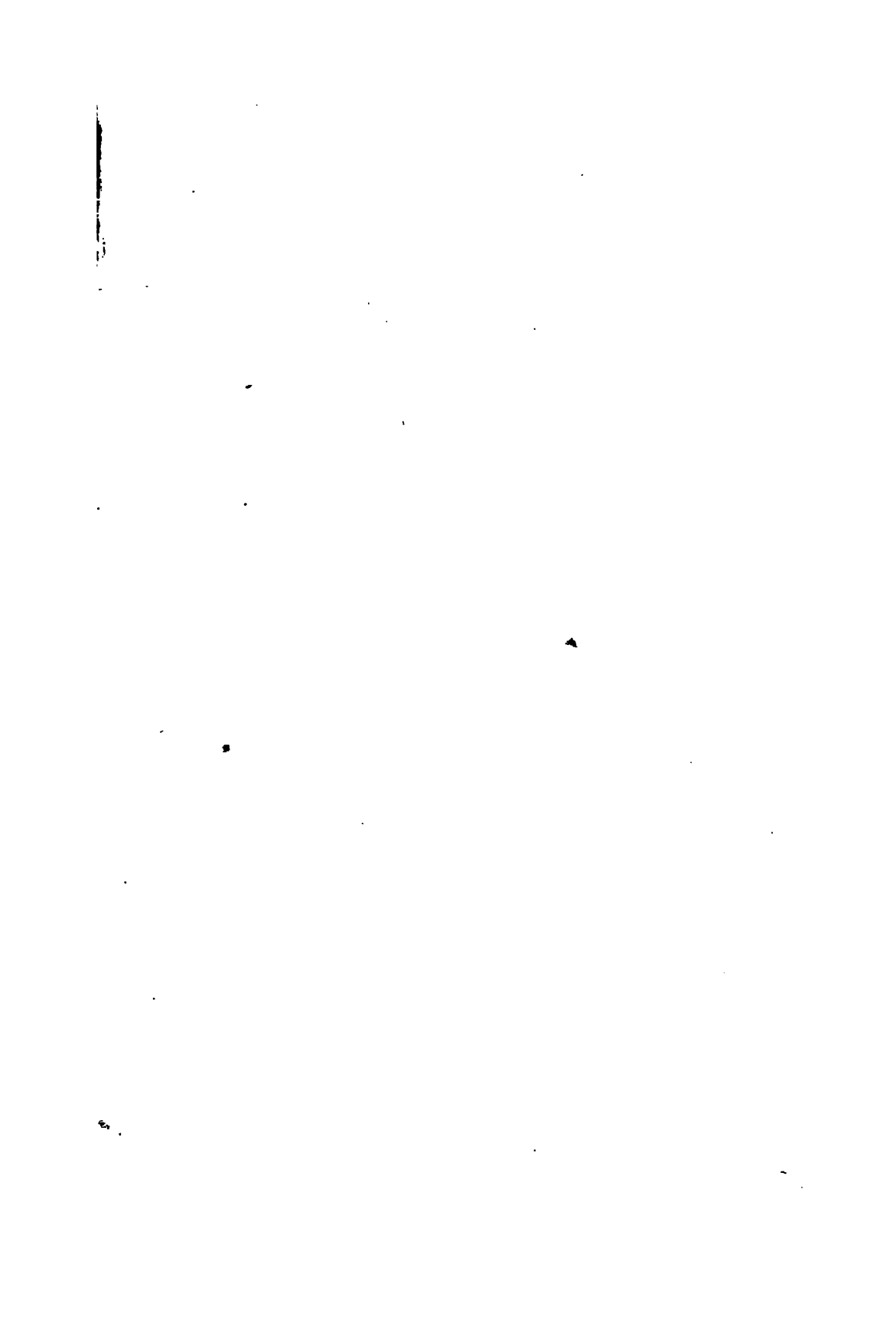
A
LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION
OF
HUGO GROTIUS,
ON
THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

By



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A
LITERAL TRANSLATION
OF THE LATIN TEXT
OF
HUGO GROTIUS,
ON THE
TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION:
ACCOMPANIED WITH
GRAMMATICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES;
FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS

BY THE
REV. T. SEDGER, M.A., CAMBRIDGE.

SECOND EDITION.

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P R E F A C E .

THE principal aim of the Translator has been—to enable Students of St. Aidan's, Birkenhead, of St. Bees, Cumberland, and of other places, to READ that learned and valuable theological Treatise, “De veritate Religionis Christianæ”—IN THE LANGUAGE (THE LATIN) IN WHICH “HUGO GROTIUS” WROTE IT—WITHOUT THE AID OF A PRIVATE TUTOR. The Translation is, consequently, as literal as the English idiom will admit :—In it, such passages as are obscure in the original, are elucidated by exegetical words, which are generally (though not invariably) printed in italics, and contained in a bracket or parenthesis—Latin phrases are indicated—Grammatical constructions are given—Allusions are explained—and the Ellipsis, in many instances, is supplied—Also Heads (or Divisions) are, occasionally, introduced, with the view of rendering certain passages more striking, and of enabling the reader to retain them the more readily in his memory.

Under these circumstances, it is thought—that the individuals, for whose use this Work is designed, will derive from it all the assistance they may require—provided they also avail themselves of the notes, etc., appended to the Latin text, printed by the Rivingtons, London, and edited by the Rev. J. E. Middleton, M. A., (now, or formerly, Lecturer of Theology at St. Bees' College)—to whose English Notes, these (which are here presented) form a sort of Supplement.

The former edition of this Translation has met with a very favorable reception. Hence, the Author is induced to bring out this Second edition, which he has corrected, and also considerably enlarged by the addition of notes.

November, 1859.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

PAGE,	LINE,	
2	8	For "see," read "use."
...	46	... "which [FACT is"], read "which [FACT is] also."
6	6	... "flowing between in," read "dispersed within," or "interspersed with."
...	13	... "vacum," read "vacuum."
7	22	... The clause, commencing with, "the progress" and ending with "islands," should be printed thus:—"the progress of the arts, among other things, and lands formerly uncultivated, which afterwards began to be inhabited, do prove; which [FACT] also the language of islands," &c.
...	27	For "to be set down [as] received," read "to be imputed" ("accepta ferri," being a latin phrase).
9	15	... "but that the thing itself already exists, is something good." read "now, existence itself is already something good"—or, "now, even existence itself is some [KIND] of good" ("ipsum autem existere jam boni est aliquid"). In the latin text, the infinitive mood of the verb ("existere"), seems to be used in this place, as a neuter noun, agreeing with "ipsum."
14	21	The 4th word [" BELIEF "] should not be in italics.
16	3	For "subject," read "substratum."
23	4	... "any other cause," read "another reason in their mind."
24	47	... "since they were," read "since (God on purpose concealing His design in this [MATTER] they were."
26	5	Erase 6th word [" HIS "].
27	4	For "treated," read "treated of."
...	30	... "certain," read "of certainty."
...	38	... "think," read "say."
30	6	Read "at which it shamed Cato to be present."
...	26, 27	... "and sometimes to submit the body, [WHEN] subdued by fastings, to the soul."
32	11	For "woman," read "women."
33	24	... "of hope," read "of good hope."
37	13	... "venerated," read "cultivated."

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MAN,
HIERONYMUS BIGNONIUS,
THE KING'S SOLICITOR
IN THE SUPREME COURT OF AUDIENCE, AT PARIS.

BOOK I.

§ I.—THE OCCASION OF THE WORK.

You are wont to inquire repeatedly of me, O Hieronymus Bignonius,—a man most highly deserving both of your country and of literature, and (if you will allow it to be added) of me also,—what is the argument of those books which I have written in the language of my Country, in defence of the Christian Religion. Nor do I wonder that you ask this. For, you are not ignorant,—as *being one* who hast read all *writings* worthy to be read, and with so much discernment too,—how much Ræmundus Sebundus by philosophic acumen, Ludovicus Vives by a variety of arguments, and also your own *countryman* Philippus Mornæus, as well by *his* very great learning, as by *his* eloquence, have set forth this subject. For which reason a translation of some one of these into the vulgar tongue, may seem to have been more of use, than the commencing of a new work. But what others are about to decide on this point, I know not: By you, however, so kind and courteous a judge, I hope that I may easily be acquitted, if I say that I (not only those writings having been read *by me*, but *those* also of the Jews, in defence of the ancient Jewish, and *those* of the Christians, in defence of the Christian, Religion) had wished to use my own judgment, whatsoever *it be*, and to give to *my* mind the liberty denied, while I was writing it, to my body. For, I did think that *I* must contend for the truth, and *that* indeed, such as I might approve of in *my* mind; for *I thought* that I was likely to labour in vain, to persuade others of things, which I had not first persuaded myself of. Therefore I selected, out of ancient and modern *books, those arguments* which most approved themselves to me, the arguments being omitted *by me* which seemed to me to have *but* little weight, and the authority of those books which I knew for certain, or justly suspected, to be forged, *being also omitted*. But those *arguments*, to which I did assent, I both arranged and expounded in a certain order, in the most popular way that I

could, and put in verses, that they might the better be committed to memory. For my intention was to do service advantageous to all my *fellow*-citizens indeed, but especially to sea-faring *persons*, so that, in that long leisure at sea, they might employ, rather than waste, *their* time, as too many do.—Therefore, the exordium being laid out in praise of our own nation, which would readily excel other *nations* in skilfulness of navigating, I urged them to see this art as a Divine blessing, not merely for their own gain, but also for the propagation of the true, that is, the Christian Religion. For *I said*, that neither is occasion wanting, inasmuch as during distant voyages, they commonly met either with Pagans, as in China and Guinea ; or with Mahometans, as under the empire of Turkey, Persia, and the Africans ; moreover, with Jews, and the same being now the avowed enemies of Christianity, dispersed through the greatest portions of the world : and *I said*, that ungodly men are not wanting, who, on an opportunity, would scatter, among the simpleminded, the poison concealed through fear : Against which evils, *I added*, that I was desirous that our own *countrymen* might be properly armed ; and they who excel in talent, should vigorously employ *themselves*, according to *their* ability, in refuting errors : the rest, at least, should guard against this, *viz.*, that they be not overcome by others.

§ II.—THAT THERE IS A GOD.

And, in the First Book indeed, in order to shew that Religion is not a frivolous thing, I begin from its foundation ; which is, that there is some Divinity. Now, that I attempt to prove thus : That there are some things which began to be, is evident by the very sense and confession of all. Now, those things were not to themselves the Cause that they existed ; for that which does not exist, cannot act ; neither could the same thing exist, before it existed. It follows, therefore, that they have had their origin from some other source ; which must be acknowledged, not only respecting those things which we either see or have seen, but also respecting those things whence these have *their* origin, until at length we arrive at some Cause which never began to be, and which exists, as we are wont to say, not accidentally but necessarily. Now, this whatever at length it be, concerning which we shall presently treat, is that very *Being* which is meant by the term Divinity, or God.

Another argument, by which we prove, that there is some Divinity, is taken from the very manifest agreement of all nations, among whom reason and good manners are not utterly extinct, through the introduction of barbarism. For, since things which proceed from the will of man are neither the same among all *men*, and are often changed ; and *since* this notion is everywhere found and is not changed by the vicissitude of times (which *fact* is remarked by Aristotle himself, a man by no means credulous *as to* such things) ; it is by all means proper that some reason hereof

be given, which may extend itself to all mankind :—Which can be no other than either an Oracle of God Himself, or a tradition, which may have emanated from the first parents of mankind : Of which *predicaments*, if we admit the former, *the thing* is evident concerning which enquiry is made ; but if the latter, no sufficient reason can be assigned, why we should believe that those first parents have handed down, to all *their* posterity, something false in a matter of the greatest moment. It is to be added, that, whether we regard the parts of the world anciently known, or lately found out, where at least, as we have said, there is somewhat of humanity, this notion displays itself ; as well among nations excelling in wisdom or genius, as among others more dull of apprehension. Of which *nations*, it is neither in any manner credible, that all the former could be deceived, nor that the latter have discovered how they might deceive one another.

Nor is it *fair*, that any one should here object the few, in the course of many ages, who either did not believe that there is a God, or professed that they did not believe. For, both *their* very small number, and *the fact* that, immediately on *their* arguments being understood, their opinion has been universally rejected, shews that this proceeded not from the use of right reason, which is common to men ; but either from a desire of novelty, such as he was possessed with, who contended that snow is black, or from a depraved mind ; just as, to a diseased palate, things do not taste, so as they are. Especially since both histories and other writings teach *us*, that, in whatever *degree* any one hath been the more upright, in that *degree* the knowledge of God *has been* more diligently preserved by him. And therefore that this departure, from an opinion so anciently received, chiefly proceeds from the naughty disposition of those, whose interest it is that there should not be any God, that is, a Judge of human actions, appears even from hence, that whatever they suppose, whether a succession of generations, without any beginning, or a concourse of atoms, or anything else, it is sufficiently apparent, to any one paying moderate attention to the matter, that this *supposition* hath not less if not greater difficulties, than that *notion* which is received. For as to what some pretend, that, because they do not see God, therefore they do not believe *in Him* ; if they see anything, they sufficiently see how unworthy this *supposition* is of a man, who at least thinks that he hath a mind, which very *mind* he doth not see. Nor if we are unable to understand the nature of God, is it, on that account, to be denied that there is such a nature. For it is the property of every thing inferior, that it is not able to comprehend things that are superior and more excellent than itself. The beasts do not even know what man is ; much less do they know by what means they found and govern commonwealths, measure the courses of the stars, and navigate the sea. All these things, forsooth, exceed their comprehension. And from this very *fact*, man, because of having been formed superior to the beasts

in the dignity of *his* nature, and that not by himself, ought to infer that that *Being* by which he hath been formed superior to the beasts, is no less better than himself, than the selfsame is *better* than the beasts; and that, therefore, there is some nature, which, as being the more excellent, exceeds the compass of his comprehension.

§ III.—THAT GOD IS ONE.

It having been proved that there is some Divinity, it remains that we proceed to His attributes; of which this first occurs, *viz.*, that there are not many gods, but *that there is* one God. This is inferred herefrom, *viz.*, that God, as hath been said just above, is that *Being* which exists necessarily, or by Himself. Now, *as to* whatever exists necessarily, or by itself, it is not considered how *it exists* in the species, but how it exists in the act: now individual things exist in the act. But, if you suppose *that there are* many gods, then you can find nothing in each of *them, as a reason*, why they should necessarily exist; and nothing, why two *gods* should be believed in, rather than three; or ten, *rather* than five. Add *to which*, that the multiplying of individual things of the same species, arises from the fruitfulness of the Causes, in proportion to which *fruitfulness* the things themselves spring forth more or fewer: but, of God, there is neither origin nor any cause.

Moreover, in different individuals, there are certain individual peculiarities, by which they may be distinguished among themselves, which *peculiarities* it is not requisite to suppose in God, Who is a necessary Being. Nor, in truth, can you anywhere discover signs of many gods. For, this whole universe makes *but* one world; in it *is* one *thing* most beautiful, *viz.*, the sun. In every man, also, one thing governs, *viz.*, *his* mind. Besides, if there were two, or more, Gods, freely acting and willing, they might will contrary things; and One might be obstructed by the Other; so that He could not effect what He wished: but *to say* that He can be obstructed, is *to say a thing* unworthy of God.

§ IV.—THAT ALL PERFECTION IS IN GOD.

That we may know the other attributes of God, it is hence perceived, that there is in God, all that which is wont to be understood by the term "Perfection," (let us now indeed use this word, since the Latin language does not supply another: the Greek *word* is *τελειότης*;) because whatsoever perfection there is in things, the same either had a beginning, or had not a beginning. That which had not a beginning is *the perfection* of God: That which had a beginning must have had *some cause*, from whence it began. And, since nothing, of those things which exist, is made from nothing, it follows, that those perfections which appear in the effects, *must* have existed in the cause, in order that the cause might be able to effect something according to those *perfections*; —and, consequently, *the perfections* are all in the FIRST CAUSE. Neither could the First Cause be deprived afterwards of any per-

fection ; *it could not be deprived thereof* by anything else ; because that which is everlasting doth not depend on other things ; nor does it suffer aught from their action : Nor, in truth, *could it be deprived thereof* by itself, because every nature desires its own perfection.

§ V.—AND *THAT*, INDEED, INFINITE.

It must be added, that these Perfections are in God, in an infinite manner : because the attribute of every *other being* is limited,—either because the Cause by which it exists, hath communicated so much, not more, to it ; or because *the being* itself was capable of so much, not more. Now, no being communicates aught of its own to God ; nor does He Himself receive aught from any other source ; *God* existing, as we have before said, by Himself, or necessarily.

§ VI.—THAT GOD IS ETERNAL, OMNIPOTENT, OMNISCIENT,
ALTOGETHER GOOD.

Since, truly, it is most clear, that those things are termed more perfect, which have life, than those which have not life ; those things which have the power of acting, than those which have not ; those things which have understanding, than those which have not understanding ; those things which are good, than those which are less so : It follows from these *arguments*, which we have just been mentioning, that all these attributes meet in God, and, indeed, in an infinite *manner*. That He is, therefore, of endless life, that is, Eternal ; of immeasurable power, that is Omnipotent ; so also Omniscient, and altogether Good,—without any exception.

§ VII.—THAT GOD IS THE CAUSE OF ALL THINGS.

Now whatsoever things subsist, that they have the origin of *their* existing from God,—is *a fact* connected with these things, which we have before mentioned. For, we concluded, that that which is by itself, or necessarily, is One ; whence it follows, that all other things have sprung from something different from themselves. Now, we have just before seen, that all those things, which have sprung from something else, have, in themselves, or in their causes, sprung from that which never had an origin, that is, from God.—And not only reason, but *common* sense itself, in some measure, proves it. For, if we consider the wonderful construction of the human body, within and without, and how all *the members* there, even the most minute, have their proper uses, with no study, no pains, of *their* parents, but with so much art, that the most eminent of philosophers and physicians could never sufficiently admire them : This shews, that the Artificer of nature is a most excellent Mind. (On which subject, Galen may be seen, especially in the part where he examines the use of the eye, and of the hand). Yea, also, the bodies of dumb animals say the same. For, their parts are not arranged and shaped by

reason of the force of matter, but for a certain end. And not *the parts* of animals only, but also *those* of plants and herbs, as hath been accurately noted by philosophers. Strabo hath excellently noted the same thing, in the 'Position of waters'— which, if you regard the quality of matter, ought to be midway between the earth and the air : whereas they are now flowing between in the earth ; doubtless, that nothing might hinder the fertility of the ground, and the life of men. Now, to act for an end, is not *the province of any one*, except of an Intelligent Being. Neither, truly, are individual things only ordained for their own peculiar end, but also for the general *one* of the universe, as appears in water, which contrary to the nature peculiar to itself, is moved upwards, lest, through a vacuum intervening, the fabric of the universe should part asunder ;—*that fabric* being so formed, that it can support itself by the constant cohesion of *its* parts. Now, this universal end could not be intended, and a power be implanted in things to that end, except by an Intelligence, to Which this universe was in subjection. Moreover, some beasts practise actions so methodical and regular, that it is quite apparent, that such *actions* proceed from some reason : which is apparent in ants, and especially in bees ; but even in some other *creatures*, which, previous to every trial, either avoid things likely to be hurtful, or seek things likely to be profitable. That this faculty either of finding, or of distinguishing, is not in them, is apparent herefrom, *viz.*, that they always act in a similar way, and they are not competent for other things, in no wise more weighty ; wherefore, it must needs be, that those *acts* proceed from an external Reason, either directing them, or imprinting in them its own efficiency ; which Reason, indeed, is no other *Instrument*, than that which is called God.

Furthermore, indeed, the heavenly constellations also, and those which are the most conspicuous among them, *viz.*, the sun and the moon, perform courses so suited to the fertility of the earth, and to the health of living creatures, that anything more fitted cannot indeed be devised. For when, otherwise, *their* motion through the equator would have been much the more simple, we see another motion assigned to them along an oblique circle, to the end that the benefits of the same might extend to more parts of the earth. Like as the use of the earth is in the power of living creatures, so *is the use* of the other living creatures chiefly in the power of man, who, by the superiority of *his* understanding, subjects to himself any, the most violent ones : whence even the Stoics did infer, that the world *was* made for the sake of man. Since, in truth, the power of man cannot extend so far, that it can force the heavenly luminaries also to be subservient to him, neither are they to be believed to have enslaved themselves to man of their own accord ; it follows, that there is some Superior Mind, by whose command those most beautiful bodies render perpetual services to man, placed, *as he is*, so far beneath

them: which same Mind, is no other than the Maker of the constellations, and of the universe. Now, the motions of *these* constellations, which are termed eccentric and epicyclical, do evidently shew, not the power of matter, but the appointment of a free agent. The same do the positions of the stars testify, some on this, others on the other part, of the sky, and the so unequal form of the earth, and of the seas. Nor can it be referred to anything else, that the constellations move on this, rather than on that part. The most perfect figure itself of the world, in truth, namely, even the parts thereof enclosed as it were in the bosom of the sky, and arranged in wonderful order, sufficiently declare, that these things had not issued forth by chance, but are appointed by an Intelligence, and *that*, too, the most excellent. For, who is there so foolish, to expect anything so accurate from chance?—as though he should believe that stones and timbers are likely to unite together into the form of a house; or that, from letters thrown casually, a poem is likely to arise:—whereas, even he, who had seen geometrical figures on the sea-shore, said, that he saw the footsteps of a man; sufficiently perceiving that such things could not proceed from chance. Moreover, that mankind did not exist from eternity, but derived the origin, common to the race, from a certain time,—the progress of the arts, among other things, prove, and lands formerly uncultivated, which afterwards began to be inhabited; which also the language of islands, *that has* issued from neighbouring countries, testifies. Besides, in truth, *there are* certain institutions so common to men, that they ought not to be set down *as* received from the instinct of nature, or from the evident conclusion of reason, so much as from perpetual tradition, scarcely interrupted, even in a few places, through wickedness or calamity: such formerly was the slaughtering of victims in sacrifices, and now also the modesty about love-affairs, the solemn rites of marriages, and the abhorrence of incests.

§ VIII.—A REPLY TO THE OBJECTION CONCERNING THE
CAUSE OF EVIL.

Neither ought it to turn us off from that which we have said, because we see many evils come to pass, the origin of which, it is seen, cannot be ascribed to God, as being He who, as was before said, is the Most perfectly Good. For, when we said that God is the Cause of all things, we added, of those which really subsist: nothing, forsooth, hinders, that the things themselves may not afterwards be the causes of some certain accidents, as are actions, God created man, and minds more sublime than man, with liberty of acting; which liberty of acting is not vicious, but can, by its own power, produce something vicious. And, to evils of this kind (which, morally, are termed evils), it is altogether impious to charge God as the Author.—Howbeit, there are, what, in another sense, are termed evils, because they occasion some

grief or loss to a certain person, nothing forbids that such *evils* proceed from God ; suppose, for the amendment of man, or even for punishment, answering to an offence : since, in this, there is nothing which is repugnant to goodness : yea, oftentimes, these *evils* may proceed from Goodness itself, as a medicine, unpleasant to the taste, from a good physician.

§ IX.—AGAINST TWO PRINCIPLES.

Now here, by the way, their opinion must be rejected, who have supposed two acting Principles ; the one good, the other evil : for from two contending between themselves, destruction may follow, *but* a well-ordered construction cannot. Neither, in truth, can it be, that, like as something is, of itself, good, so something is, of itself, and, in every way, evil : since evil is a certain defect which cannot be, except in a thing that exists ; but that the thing itself already exists, is something good.

§ X.—THAT THE UNIVERSE IS GOVERNED BY GOD.

Now, that this universe is governed by the Providence of God, is hereby apparent, that not only men, because endued with understanding, but also birds, wild animals, four-footed (*tame*) animals (in whom there is something in the stead of understanding) take care of those which are brought forth by them. Which Perfection, since it is a part of Goodness must not be withdrawn from God ; and so much the rather, because He is both Omniscient and Omnipotent, so that He cannot be ignorant of those things which are done, or are to be done, and those things He can most easily order and direct. Whither that also belongs, which we have mentioned just above, concerning the motion of things contrary to *their* proper nature, for an universal end.

§ XI.—YEA, SUBLUNARY THINGS.

Now, that they greatly err, who confine this Providence within the orbs of the sky, is apparent, as well from the reason now alleged, and extending its force to all created things, as also from hence, *viz.*, that the course of the stars (as the ablest philosophers acknowledge, and experience sufficiently demonstrates) are ordained for the use of men. Now, it is reasonable, that that *living creature*, for whose sake another exists, should be more cared for, than that which is provided for another's use.

YEA, INDIVIDUAL THINGS.

Nor are they less mistaken, who will have it, that general things are cared for by Him, and not individual things. For, if they will have it, that individual things are not known by God, as some of them avow, not even God Himself will be acquainted with Himself ! Neither, in truth, will *His* knowledge be Infinite, (as we have just before concluded *it to be*), if it is not extended to individual

things. But, if God knows even those things, why may He not also attend to *them*; especially, since even individual things, so far as they are individual things, are ordained for a certain end, as well peculiar, as universal: even the very classes of things which those same authors acknowledge to be preserved by God, cannot subsist, except in the individuals; so that, if the individuals could perish, having been abandoned by the Providence of God, the classes themselves also could.

§ XII.—THE SAME THING IS PROVED FROM THE PRESERVATION
OF EMPIRES.

Both philosophers and historians acknowledge a weighty proof of the Divine Providence, around the affairs of men, *to wit*, in the preservation of commonwealths. First, generally, because wheresoever the discipline of ruling and obeying hath been received, it always abides. In the next place, oftentimes, also, specially, *to wit*, in the long duration of this, or that form of government, through many ages: as of the regal, among the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Franks; of the aristocracy, among the Venetians. For, although human wisdom availeth something in this *respect*; yet, if the multitude of wicked men be duly considered, and the things which can do harm from without, and the changes natural, as it were, to things,—it does not appear, that any government could subsist so long a time, except by a certain peculiar care of the Divine Influence: which *care* is even more strikingly seen, where it hath seemed good to God to change governments. For, the instruments which He then employs for that purpose,—*a purpose* decreed, as it were, by Himself: suppose *He employs* Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar the dictator, Genghiz-Can, among the Tartars, Namcaa, among the Chinese: to them, all things, even those which do not depend on human foresight, turn out beyond *their* wish,—*their success being* more than a change in human events usually produces, which so great similarity and, as it were, combination of events to a certain end, is a token of a Provident Direction. For, at dice, it may be chance to throw a lucky *cast* sometimes; but if anyone throw the same an hundred times, there will be nobody who would not say that this proceeded from some art.

§ XIII.—FROM MIRACLES.

Howbeit, miracles and the prophecies which are extant in histories, afford most certain evidence of the Divine Providence. As to this sort, many fabulous things indeed, are related: but those which have had competent witnesses of their own time, (that is, such *witnesses*, of whom neither the judgment, nor faithfulness can fail) are not to be rejected, as though such things could not, at all, be done. For, since God is omnipotent, what *obstacle* is there, why He should not be able either to intimate what He knows, or to do what He pleases, even out of the common

course of nature, forasmuch as *it is* appointed by Him, and subject to Him by the right of creation? But, if anyone should say, that some such things could also proceed from minds inferior to God, it may surely be granted: but this very *fact* prepares the way, that the same may be more easily believed of God: but then, even that which those minds so perform, God either must be thought to perform by means of them, or wisely to permit; inasmuch as, in well-ordered kingdoms, nothing is wont to be done beyond the common laws, unless by the will of the supreme ruler.

§ XIV.—BUT ESPECIALLY AMONG THE JEWS, ON WHOM FAITH IS BUILT, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DURATION OF *THEIR* RELIGION.

Now, that some miracles have sometimes actually been seen, (although it may be doubted *by us*, with regard to the fidelity of other histories,) even the Jewish Religion alone, may easily prove; which *Religion*, long since deprived of all human helps, yea, exposed to contempt and derision, throughout almost all parts of the world, endureth to this day; whereas, all other religions (the Christian *Religion* excepted, which is, as it were, the perfection of the Jewish) have either vanished away, as soon as the power and authority of the ruling party was withdrawn from them, as all the Pagan religions *did*; or are still constantly upheld by the same imperial power, as Mahometanism. But if it be asked, what is the cause why the Jewish Religion hath struck such roots into the minds of all the Hebrews, that it cannot be eradicated? No other *reason* can be assigned, or imagined, than *this, viz.*, that they who now exist, may have received those miracles by a certain and constant tradition, from their parents, as they again from theirs, and so onwards, until we come to those who lived in the lifetime of Moses and Joshua; which *miracles*, had taken place, as well elsewhere, as chiefly in the very departing out of Egypt, and in the journey, and in the entering of Canaan; and of which they, the very forefathers of them, had been witnesses.

Neither, in truth, is it credible, that it could happen otherwise, that a people of a disposition sufficiently stubborn, would take upon themselves a law, burthened with so many rites; or, that wise men would, out of the many marks of religion, which human reason was able to discover, select circumcision which could not even be received without grievous pain, and *which* would be ridiculed by all foreigners, nor would it have aught, whereby it could recommend itself, without God, the Author *of it*.

§ XV.—FROM THE VERACITY AND ANTIQUITY OF MOSES.

It obtains the highest credit for the writings also of Moses. (in which *writings* those miracles have been transmitted to

memory) not only that it hath always been settled by a perpetual report among the Hebrews, that he (*Moses*) was recommended by the oracle of God, and set over the people; but also because it is sufficiently apparent, that he neither studied his own glory, nor their *temporal* interests, inasmuch as he hath himself both related his own faults, which he was able to conceal, and hath assigned the dignity of the kingdom and the priesthood to others, (his own posterity being reduced to the common race of Levites) all which things sufficiently shew that he had no reason why he should invent lies; as he neither uses a coloured nor an alluring style, such as is wont to gain credit to a lie; but *a style* both simple, and befitting the nature of the subject. There added to *this*, the undoubted antiquity of the writings of Moses, with which *antiquity* no other writing can compare: whereof this also is an argument, *viz.*, that the Greeks (whence all knowledge flowed to other nations) confess, that they received *their* letters from some other source; which letters, among them, both have no other order, and name, and likewise ancient shape, than the Syriac or the Hebrew: as also the most ancient Attic laws, whence even the Roman *laws* were subsequently taken, derive *their* origin from the laws of Moses.

§ XVI.—FROM THE TESTIMONIES OF FOREIGNERS.

There are added to these, the testimonies of not a few aliens from the Jewish religion, which shew, that the most ancient report was so held among all nations, as the writings of Moses proclaim. For the writings on the 'Origin of the world' which he hath left behind, were, for the most part, the same also in the most ancient histories of the Phœnicians, which *histories*, having been compiled by Sanchuniathon, Philo Byblius translated;—partly, also *found* among the Indians and Egyptians; whence *it is that* in Linus, Hesiod, and many of the Greeks, *there is mentioned* a 'Chaos,' intimated by others by the name of an 'egg;' and the formation of animals, and, lastly, of man, and *that*, too, according to the Divine image, *is mentioned*: and the dominion given to man over the other living creatures: which you may every where find in very many writers, and, lastly, in Ovid, who transcribed those things from the Greeks. That all things *were* made by the word of God, is declared even by Epicharmus, and the Platonists, and before them, by a very ancient writer,—not of those hymns which we have under that name, but of those verses which antiquity hath termed the 'Orphics'—not because they were *the verses* of Orpheus, but because they contained things related by him. Empedocles even acknowledged, that the sun was not the primitive light, but a receptacle of light (the Δόχημα καὶ ὄχημα τοῦ πυρὸς, the reservoir and vehicle of fire, as some one of the ancient Christians saith.) Aratus and Catullus *thought* that the Divine abode is above the places of the stars: Homer *believed*, that, in that *abode*, *there is* perpetual light.

Thales taught, from the ancient lore, that God is the most ancient of *all* things, because *He is* not begotten; that the world *is* most beautiful, because *it is* the work of God; that darkness *was* prior to the light: the last of which *legends* is in the Orphics, and Hesiod, and therefrom the Gentiles, most tenacious of ancient custom, used to number *their* times by nights, *not by days*.

Anaxagoras *acknowledged* that all things *were* ordained by a Supreme Mind; Aratus, that the stars *were* made by God. Virgil, after the Greeks, *said* that life *was* infused into things by the Spirit of God; Hesiod, Homer, Callimachus *said* that man *was* formed out of clay; finally, Maximus Tyrius asserts, that it is handed down by the consent of nations, that there is one Supreme God, the cause of all things. And the remembrance of the work of *creation*, having been finished within seven days, *was* preserved, not only among the Greeks and Italians, in honor of the seventh day; which we learn from Josephus, Philo, Tibullus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and from Lucian, (for, with regard to the Hebrews, it is most notorious), but also among the Celts and Indians, by all whom the times were regulated by weeks; which Philostratus, Dion Cassius, Justin Martyr, and the most ancient names of the days inform us. The Egyptians also taught, that the primitive life of man was attended with simplicity and a naked body; whence *arises* the 'Golden age' of the poets, celebrated even among the Indians, as it is according to Strabo. Maimonides hath remarked, that the history of Adam, Eve, the Tree, the Serpent, was extant in his time, among the idolatrous Indians; and witnesses also of our own time, affirm, that the same *history* is found among the inhabitants of Pegu, and the Calamianes,—Pagan people of the same India: that the name of Adam also *is found* among the Brahmins; that it is computed among the Siamese, at 6,000 years, since the world *was* made. Berosus, in his records of Chaldæa; Manethos, in *his* of Egypt; Hieromus, in *his* of Phœnicia; Hestæus, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, among the Greeks; and Hesiod, among the poets, have recorded that the life of those who succeeded the first men, continued for almost a thousand years: which is the less incredible, since even the histories of very many nations have reported (and, particularly, Pausanias and Philostratus *in their histories* of the Greeks, Pliny, *in his* of the Romans), that it was ascertained that the bodies of men were formerly much larger; *their* sepulchres having been opened. In like manner also, Catullus, after very many Greeks, relates that visions from God occurred to men, before the frequency and magnitude of *their* sins had, as it were, shut out God, and the spirits ministering to Him, from a familiar intercourse with men. The savage life of the giants, which Moses mentions, is almost everywhere read of among the Greeks and certain Latins. Concerning the Deluge, it is to be noted, that the memory of almost all nations terminates in the history thereof, even of those *nations* which the age of our

fathers hath handed down for our information, as being *nations* for a long while unknown *to them*: whence also, all that period is, by Varro, termed the unknown. But those things which we read of, wrapped up by poets in the licence of fables, the most ancient writers had delivered according to truth, that is, agreeably to Moses, *viz.*,—Berosus, *in his history* of the Chaldæans; Abydenus, in *his* of the Assyrians, who even mentions the dove sent forth, as *doth* also Plutarch, *one* of the Greeks: and Lucian, who saith, that, at Hierapolis of Syria, a very ancient history also of the Ark was extant, and not only of the chosen persons preserved by means of it, but also of other living creatures. The same history was likewise extant, according to Molo and Nicolaus Damascenus; the latter of whom had the name of ‘Ark,’ likewise: which was also found in the history of Deucalion, according to Apollodorus. But, moreover, a great many Spaniards testify, that in parts of America, *viz.*, in Cuba, Mechoachana, Nicaragua, a remembrance was preserved of the Deluge, of animals saved alive; nay, more, of the raven and the dove; of the Deluge itself also, in that part which is now called the ‘Golden Castile.’ In what part of the earth mankind lived before the Deluge, even that which is remarked by Pliny (*viz.*, that Joppa was built before the flood) declares. The place on which the Ark rested after the Deluge, *viz.*, the Gordiæan mountains, is shewn from the constant remembrance of the Armenians from every age to this day. Japhet, the father of the Europeans, and thence Ion, (or as they formerly pronounced *it*, Javon) *sire* of the Greeks; Hammon, *sire* of the Africans, are names which appear also in Moses. In like manner, both Josephus, and others, observe vestiges, in the names of other nations and places. Now, in truth, which of the poets hath not made mention of the journey attempted to heaven? The burning of Sodom is *named* in Diodorus Siculus, *in* Strabo, *in* Tacitus, *in* Pliny, *in* Solinus. Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Philo Byblius have afforded testimony to the very ancient custom of circumcision; the nations *that have* sprung from Abraham, afford *the same*, even now: not only the Hebrews, but also the Idumæans, the Ishmaelites, and others. The history of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, *and* of Joseph, agreeing with Moses, was formerly extant in Philo Byblius, *derived* from Sanchuniathon; in Berosus, Hecataeus, Damascenus, Artapanus, Eupolemus, Demetrius, and partly, also, in the very ancient writer of the Orphics. Something is even now extant in Justin, *taken* from Trogius Pompeius. A record, both of Moses and of his actions, is extant in almost all those same *writers*. For, the Orphic verses expressly mention both *that he was* drawn out of the water, and *that two tables were* given him by God. To these, add Polemon, and not a few *writings* of the going forth from Egypt, *taken* from Egyptian *writers*, *viz.*, Manetho, Lysimachus, Chæremon. Neither, in truth, can it become credible, to any

well-informed person, that Moses (who had not only Egyptians *as* enemies, but also very many other nations, *viz.*, the Idumæans, the Arabs, the Phœnicians) would dare, either openly to relate such things touching the 'Origin of the world,' and matters the most ancient, which could either be disproved by other writings preceding, or might have an old and general persuasion repugnant to them: or, that he would publish such things touching circumstances of his own time, as could be refuted by the testimonies of many living. Even Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, and Pliny; Tacitus likewise, and after them Dionysius Longinus, on the 'Sublimity of Speech' made mention of Moses: also Pliny and Apuleius, beside the Talmudists, have mentioned Jamnes, and Mambres, who resisted Moses in Egypt. Of the Law itself, given by Moses, and of the rites, some *accounts* are extant, as well elsewhere, as very many among the Pythagoreans. Both Strabo, and Justin, out of Trogus, afford a remarkable testimony to the ancient Jews, both of *their* religion and righteousness; so that now, indeed, it is unnecessary to quote *accounts* either which are found, or have been formerly found, concerning Joshua and others, correspondent with the books of the Hebrews; since, whoever has *belief* in Moses, (which *belief* cannot be denied him, except with the greatest effrontery) that *man* would by all means believe, that famous prodigies were wrought by God, of old: which *fact* we here principally regard. The miracles of later times, in truth, suppose *those* of Elijah, of Elisha, and of others, ought so much the less to be thought counterfeit, because in those times Judæa was both become even more known, and, by reason of the difference of Religion, was in great odium with the neighbours, to whom it would have been very easy to refute the growing report of a lie. The history of Jonah, who was three days within a whale, is in Lycophron and Æneas Gazæus; except that there is substituted the name of Hercules, to whose renown (it hath been remarked by Tacitus) whatever was universally considered noble, was wont to be referred.

The evidence of history, doubtless, compelled Julian, an enemy of the Jews, no less than of the Christians, to confess both that men, inspired by the Divine Spirit, lived among the Jews, and that fire descended from heaven on the sacrifices of Moses and Elias. And indeed, it is to be observed, at this part, that not only heavy punishments were appointed among the Hebrews, for them who should falsely arrogate to themselves the gift of prophecy; but that very many kings who by that means could procure, to themselves authority,—that very many most learned men, such as Esdras and others, never dared to arrogate this honor to themselves. nor anyone for some ages prior to the times of Jesus. Much less, in truth, could a people of so many thousands be imposed upon by the averment of a prodigy, *that was*, as it were, continual and public; that is, of that oracle, which used to shine forth from the breast-plate of the high-priest:

which *prodigy* hath always been so firmly believed by all the Jews to have lasted even until the destruction of the first temple that their ancestors must by all means, have held it *as a fact* very well known.

§ XVII.—THE SAME PROVED, AS ABOVE, FROM PREDICTIONS.

Allied to this argument from miracles, there is another, to prove the Providence of God, no less effectual, *arising* from predictions of future events which are very numerous and very palpable among the Hebrews: as, *for example*, concerning the childlessness of that person, who should re-build Jericho; concerning the temple of Bethel being overthrown by a king, (Josiah by name) three hundred years and more, before the thing came to pass. So also, the very name and principal affairs of Cyrus *were* foreshewn by Isaiah; the issue of the siege, with which the Chaldeans beset Jerusalem, *was foreshewn* by Jeremiah: by Daniel, in truth, the translation of the empire from the Assyrians to the Medes and Persians, thence to Alexander of Macedon, whose successors, in part, should afterwards be the Lagides and Seleucidæ; and what misfortunes the Hebrew nation was to experience from all these, but especially from the famous Antiochus, so perspicuously *predicted*, that Porphyry, who compared the Grecian histories, still extant in his time, with those prophecies, was unable to disenthral himself otherwise, than by saying that those *predictions*, which were ascribed to Daniel, were written after the event: which is all one, as though anybody should deny that those *poems* which are extant under the name of Virgil, and have always been accounted as Virgil's, *were* written by him in the Augustan age. For, a doubt was never any more entertained among the Hebrews, concerning that of which we are speaking, than concerning this *latter* among the Romans. To these may be added, the very numerous and very famous oracles among the Mexicans, and the Peruvians, which predicted the coming of the Spaniards into those lands, and the calamities that were thence to follow.

FROM OTHER ARGUMENTS.

Hither may also be referred not a few dreams, so exactly agreeing with events, (which both in themselves and their causes, were utterly unknown to those who dreamed *them*,) that they cannot, except in an impudent way, be referred to chance, or natural causes; of which kind Tertullian in his book 'On the Soul,' hath compiled eminent examples from the most approved writers: and apparitions *have* not only *been* seen, but also *have been* heard to speak, even those historians delivering *these accounts*, who are very far removed from superstitious credulity: and witnesses likewise of our own age *delivering the same*, who lived in China; and who *lived* in Mexico, and other parts of America. Neither are those public tests of innocence by the

touching of red-hot plough-shares, to be despised, which so many histories of the German nations, and the very laws have made mention of.

§ XVIII.—THE OBJECTION, THAT MIRACLES ARE NOT SEEN NOW,
IS ANSWERED.

Nor is it *right*, that any one should object, that such miracles are not seen at this time, nor such predictions heard. For, it is sufficient, for the proof of a Divine Providence, that it sometimes happened; which being once established, the consequence is, that God can now be thought to abstain from such things, as prudently and wisely, as formerly He used them. Nor, forsooth, was it reasonable, that the laws assigned to the universe, touching a natural course of things, and uncertainty of the future events, be without cause, or always transgressed; but only then, when a worthy motive had occurred: as, *for instance*, what time the worship of the true God, banished almost from the globe, did settle in one corner of the world, that is, in Judæa; and was thenceforth to be fortified with new defences, against the impiety spread around; or, when the Christian Religion (concerning which we shall presently specially treat) was, first by God's decree, to be spread over the whole globe.

§ XIX.—AND THAT THERE IS SO GREAT A LICENSE FOR
CRIMES.

Some are wont to be moved to doubt of the Divine Providence, by the beholding of crimes, by a certain deluge whereof, as it were, this world is overwhelmed, which, they contend, it would have been the main business of the Divine Providence, if there were any, to restrain and repress. But the reply is easy:—*that*, since God hath made man free to do good and ill, (an absolutely necessary, and immutable goodness being reserved to Himself) it would not have been reasonable to place a restraint upon evil actions, contrary to that liberty. Howbeit, *that*, whatever means there were of hindering, not militating with, the allotted liberty: as, *to wit*, the institution and promulgation of the Law, internal and external admonitions, together with menaces, even, and promises; none of these *means* is passed over by God; but neither does He suffer the effects of wickedness to spread whither they might. Whence, it was never possible for governments to be completely subverted, nor for the knowledge of the Divine laws to be entirely blotted out. The crimes, in truth, which are permitted, are meanwhile not without their advantage, when they are applied (as we have attempted above to treat of), either for punishing others no less wicked, or, for the chastising those who have slidden out of the path of virtue, or, for exacting a remarkable instance of patience and constancy, from those who have made great advances in virtue. Lastly, even they, themselves whose crimes seem winked at for a time, are wont to pay the

penalties of those *crimes* with the interest of *that* time; to the end that there may come to pass, what God hath willed with regard to those *persons*, who have done what God hath not willed.

§ XX.—SO THAT OFTEN THE GOOD ARE OPPRESSED.

But if sometimes no punishments for crimes are apparent, and, that which is wont to offend many weak *minds*, some good *men*, oppressed by the violence of the wicked, not only lead a wretched life, but also oftentimes undergo death, and *that*, too, a disgraceful *one*; the Providence of God must not, therefore, be straightway discarded from human affairs, which *Providence*, as we have just said, is shown, by arguments so valid, to exist; but rather, in conjunction with the wisest men, it must be inferred so *by us*.

§ XXI.—THIS VERY *ARGUMENT* IS RETORTED, TO PROVE
THAT SOULS SURVIVE BODIES.

Forasmuch as God looks to the actions of men, and is just, and *yet* those things in the meantime come to pass, there is to be expected *by us* some judgement after this life; to the end that, either notorious wickedness may not remain without punishment, or distinguished virtue *be* without comfort and reward.

§ XXII.—WHICH IS CONFIRMED BY TRADITION.

Now, in order to settle this *point*, it must needs also be settled, that souls survive bodies. Which most ancient tradition hath descended from *our* first parents (for from whence else?), to almost all the more civilized nations; as appears from the verses of Homer; and from Philosophers, not only of the Grecians, but also of the ancient Gauls, whom they called Druids, and *from Philosophers* of the Indians, whom they called Brahmins; and from those *books* which very many writers have published concerning the Egyptians and Thracians, yea, also, *concerning* the Germans. Moreover, concerning the Divine judgement after this life, we see that very many *writings* were extant, not only among the Grecians, but also among the Egyptians and Indians, as Strabo, Diogenes Lærtius, and Plutarch inform us; to which may be added, the tradition concerning this world going to be set on fire, which *tradition* is, long ago, found in Hystapses, and the Sibyls; now, also, in Ovid, and Lucan, and the Indians of Siam: a token of which thing, noted even by Astrologers, *is* the Sun approaching nearer to the earth. Yea, when *men* first went to the Canary islands, America, and other remote places, the same opinion concerning souls, and the Judgement, *was* found there also.

§ XXIII.—TO WHICH NO REASON CAN BE REPUGNANT.

Neither, indeed, can any argument, fetched from nature, be found, which can refute this so ancient, so widely spread, tradition. For, *as to* all those things which we see perish, such things perish,

either from the opposition of a more powerful contrary *agent*; as cold is destroyed by the great force of heat; or, by the subtraction of the subject, on which they depend; as the size of the glass *is destroyed, through* the glass being broken; or, *through* the defect of the efficient cause; as light, by the sun's departure. Now, none of these things can be said, respecting the soul. Not the first: because nothing can be admitted, that is contrary to the soul; nay, such is its peculiar nature, that *things* that are contrary between themselves, those it can take into itself, alike, and at the same time, *after* its own, that is, *after* an intellectual manner. Not the second: because there is not any subject, on which the nature of the soul can depend. If, forsooth, there were any, it would be the human body; but, that it is not, appears from this, that, while the powers which cleave to the body, are wearied by acting, the soul alone does not contract weariness by action. Likewise, the powers of the body are injured by the over great excellency of the object presented *to them*; as the sight, by the brightness of the sun: but the soul, by how much it is employed about the more excellent *things*, (as about figures abstracted from matter, about universal *things*), by so much it is made more perfect. The powers which cleave to the body, are occupied about those things which are limited to places and times, which is the nature of the body: but the soul, about *that which is* infinite and eternal. Wherefore, since the soul in working depends not on the body, not even its existence depends thereon: for, the nature of things, which we do not discern, cannot be ascertained otherwise than by *their* operations. But neither hath the third mode of being destroyed, any place here. Nor, forsooth, can an efficient cause be admitted, from which the soul always emanates. For, you would not say, that the parents *are the cause*, inasmuch as the children are wont to live, they (*the parents*) being dead. But, if we will *have it*, that there is any Cause at all, from whence the soul emanates, it cannot be another, than the First and Universal Cause, Which is never defective on the side of power. Now, that it is defective on the side of will, (that is, that God wills that the soul be annihilated) can be proved by no argument.

§ XXIV.—MANY ARGUMENTS MAY BE FAVORABLE.

Nay, there are arguments, not slight, to the contrary: *viz.*, the dominion given to man over his own actions, the desire of immortality, implanted *in him*, the force of conscience, consoling itself on account of good, though very troublesome, actions, and supporting itself with a certain hope: on the contrary, tormenting *itself* on account of wicked acts, especially *when* near death, as if *possessed* with a sense of an impending judgement; which force *of conscience* the worst tyrants were not able oftentimes to stifle within themselves, when they most wished it, as appears by many examples.

§ XXV.—FROM WHICH IT FOLLOWS, THAT THE END OF MAN
IS HAPPINESS AFTER THIS LIFE.

But, if the soul is both of that nature, that it can have in itself no causes of annihilation, and *if* God hath given to us many tokens, whereby it ought to be understood, that He wills that the soul should be survivor to the body, *it follows*, that not any end can be proposed to man, more worthy of him, than the happiness of that state: And this is that which Plato and the Pythagoreans said, *to wit*, that man's *highest* good is to be made as like to God as possible. Now, whatever that happiness is, and how it may be obtained, men are able to trace out by conjectures: But if aught of that matter is revealed by God, it must be held for a most real and most certain *fact*.

§ XXVI.—TO OBTAIN WHICH, THE TRUE RELIGION MUST
BE TRACED OUT.

But, since the Christian Religion, above other *Religions*, promises to disclose itself to us, it shall be examined in the SECOND part of this Work, whether or not credit is to be given to it.

THE END OF BOOK I.

BOOK II.

§ I.—IT IS TO BE PROVED, THAT THIS TITLE (*VIZ.*, "*THE TRUE RELIGION*") SUITS THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

The Second Book, therefore, (prayers having been poured out *by us* to Christ, now reigning in heaven, that He would administer to us such aids of His own Spirit, as may make us competent for so great a business) unfolds *its* design (not that it is this,—that all the tenets of Christianity can be treated of, but), *viz.*, that it may be shown, that the Christian Religion itself is most true and most certain : which *design* is thus commenced *by me*.

§ II.—*HERE* IS SHOWN, THAT JESUS LIVED.

That Jesus, of Nazareth, lived heretofore in Judæa,—Tiberius being Ruler of the Roman affairs,—not only the Christians, scattered over all parts of the earth, most constantly avow; but also all the Jews, who now exist, and those who ever wrote after those times: even Pagans, that is, the writers *who are* neither of the Jewish, nor of the Christian, Religion, as, *for instance*, Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny the younger, and many after them, do testify the same.

§ III.—THAT THE SAME *WAS* PUT TO AN IGNOMINIOUS DEATH.

That the same Jesus *was* nailed to a cross by Pontius Pilate, president of Judæa, all Christians likewise confess, although it might seem disgraceful to *them who* worshipped such a Lord! The Jews also confess *it*, though, nevertheless, they are not ignorant, that they, on that account, endure very grievous odium among Christians, under whose governments, everywhere, they live; because their ancestors were, to Pilate, the advisers of passing that sentence. The Pagan writers, in truth, whom we have just mentioned, have transmitted the same to the memory *of posterity*. Yea, the 'Acts of Pilate' were extant a long time after, from which '*Acts of Pilate*' that might be evident, *and* to which Christians did sometimes appeal. Neither Julian, or other opposers of Christianity ever called it in question: so that no history can be imagined, which is more certain than this; which *is one* that can be confirmed by so many testimonies—I will not say of persons, but—of nations disagreeing among themselves. But, although it be so, yet we see that He is worshipped as Lord, throughout the most distant regions of the world.

§ IV.—AND YET *THAT HE WAS* ADORED BY WISE MEN.

And *that*, not in our own times only, or in *times* past a little before *them*, but also in *times* anterior to the *latter*, even till we come to the age nearest to the transaction: suppose, under the empire of Nero, in which time, the same Tacitus, whom we have spoken of, and others testify, that very many Christians, who professed a veneration of Christ, were, for that very thing punished.

§ V.—THAT THE CAUSE OF WHICH CIRCUMSTANCE COULD BE NO OTHER, THAN THE MIRACLES WROUGHT BY HIM.

Now, there have always been, among the worshippers of Christ, very many, both endowed with judgement, and not unskilful in literature, such as (to be silent now about the Jews) Sergius, president of Cyprus, Dionysius, the Areopagite, Polycarp, Justin, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Origen, Tertullian, Clement, of Alexandria, and others besides: and, since they were such *persons*, no reason (why they may have devoted themselves, as Worshippers, to a man, put to an ignominious death; especially, when almost all were brought up in other religions, nor was there, in the Christian *Religion*, aught either of honour or emolument) can be given, except this one, *viz.*, that, by diligent inquiry, such as becomes prudent men in a matter of the greatest importance, they had ascertained, that the report, which had spread abroad, concerning the miracles wrought by Him, was true, and relied upon staunch witnesses:—As, concerning the curing, by a word only, and *that* too, openly, of grievous and inveterate diseases; concerning the giving sight to him who was born blind; concerning the multiplying, not *merely* once, of loaves for the food of many thousands, who could avouch that *fact*; concerning the recalling the dead to life, and more things which are of that sort.

§ VI.—WHICH MIRACLES CANNOT BE ASCRIBED TO THE EFFICACY OF NATURE, NOR OF THE DEVIL, BUT MAY WHOLLY PROCEED FROM GOD.

Which report had an origin so certain and undoubted, that neither Celsus, nor Julian, when they were writing against the Christians, would have dared to deny, that some prodigies *were* wrought by Christ; but the Hebrews, in the books of the Talmud, openly confess *it*. That the works, which we have spoken of, had not been performed by the force of nature, is sufficiently apparent, by this very thing, that they are called prodigies, or miracles. Neither, in truth, can it happen by the force of nature, that grievous diseases may be removed, and *that*, too, on a sudden, by the voice alone, or by a touch. But if those works could, any way, have been referred to the efficacy of nature, it would have been said before now, by those who avowed themselves *as* enemies, either of Christ, *while He was* living upon earth, or of His Gospel. By the like argument we infer, that they were

not juggling-tricks, because the works have been mostly done openly, the people looking on; and many learned among the people bearing ill will to Christ, observing all His works. Add to *which*, that the like works *were* often repeated, and the effects themselves not momentary, but permanent. Which things being weighed, as is proper, it by all means follows (as even the Jews confess),—that these works proceeded from some Power, more than human; that is, from some Spirit, Good or evil. Now, that these works have not proceeded from an evil spirit, is hereby proved, *viz.*, because this doctrine of Christ (for the proving which those works were employed) is opposed to evil spirits. For, *this doctrine* forbids evil spirits to be worshipped; it withdraws men from all filthiness of manners, wherein such spirits are delighted. It also appears from the facts themselves, that, wheresoever that doctrine hath been received, the worship of Dæmons, and magical arts, fell away; and that one God was worshipped, accompanied with a detestation of Dæmons, whose power and authority, Porphyry himself acknowledged, was broken by the coming of Christ.

Now, it is not to be believed, that any evil spirit is so foolish, as to do those things, and *that*, too, very often, from which no honour, or gain, can accrue to itself, but, on the contrary, the greatest loss, and disgrace. But, neither is it any way agreeable to the Wisdom or Goodness of God Himself, that He should be thought to *have* suffered imposition to be practised, by the craft of Dæmons, on men averse to all wickedness, and fearing Him; that such were the first disciples of Christ, their blameless life, and the many calamities, endured *by them* for conscience' sake, make manifest.

But, if you say, that the works of Christ proceeded from Good Minds, although inferior to God, you already confess, in that very *saying*, that those *works* were pleasing to God, and tended to the honour of God; forasmuch as Good Minds do nothing, but what is, acceptable to God, and glorious to Him: not to mention now, that some works of Christ were such as seem to evidence God Himself *as* the Author *of them*; as, the recalling of *not merely* one dead *person* into life.

Now, in truth, God neither performs miracles, nor permits *them* to be done, without a cause: for it becomes not a wise Maker of a Law, to depart from His own Laws, except for a cause, and *that*, too, a weighty *one*. Now no other reason can be given, why these things were done, than that which is alleged by Christ; namely, that a testimony might be afforded to His doctrine. Neither, doubtless, could they, who beheld those *works*, conceive any other cause; among whom, since, as we have said, there were many of a pious disposition, it is impious to be thought, that God did this, that He might impose upon them. And this was one cause, why very many of the Jews, who lived about the times of Jesus, even those who could not be induced

to omit any part of the Law given by Moses, such as were they who were called Nazarenes and Ebionites, did, notwithstanding, acknowledge Jesus as a Master sent from heaven.

§ VII.—TOUCHING THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS HIMSELF, THAT IT IS EVIDENT FROM TESTIMONIES WORTHY OF CREDIT.

The wonderful return of Christ Himself to life, after *being nailed to the cross*, death, burial, affords an argument, equal to the miracles wrought by Christ. For Christians, of all places and times, allege it, not only as a truth, but as the main foundation of their faith; which could not happen, unless they who first taught the Christian faith, had, for certain, persuaded their hearers, that the thing *was* so done. Now, certainly, they could not persuade men, endowed with some judgement, of this, unless they could affirm, that they themselves were eye-witnesses of the matter: without which affirmation, no one, tolerably sound *in mind*, would have given credit to them; especially in those times, when, to believe them, it might stand them in the greatest mischiefs and dangers. That this *was* affirmed by them with great constancy, even the books, of themselves, and of others, inform *us*; yea, it appears, from the books, that they appealed to five hundred witnesses, who had beheld Jesus alive again after *His* death. Now, it is not the custom of *those that* tell untruths, to appeal to so many witnesses.—Neither can it happen, that so many should agree together to a false testimony. And, though there had not been other witnesses, than those twelve, the first most noted propagators of the Christian doctrine, this *fact* ought to suffice. No one is wicked for nothing. Honour, from a falsehood, they could not hope for; inasmuch as all honour was at the disposal of the Pagans or the Jews, by whom they were put to reproaches and disgrace: Riches *they could not hope for*; inasmuch as, on the contrary, this profession was oftentimes mulcted in the loss even of goods, if there were any; and, though this had not been *the case*, yet the Gospel could not be taught by them, except by laying aside all care of temporal goods. Nor, in truth, could any other advantages of this life, move them to utter untruths, seeing that the very preaching of the Gospel did expose them to labours, hunger, thirst, stripes, imprisonments. Renown only, among their own *countrymen*, was not of so much *worth*, that, on account of it, simple-minded men, whose life, and dogma, was abhorrent from pride, would therefore undergo such a power of misfortunes. Neither, in truth, could they, in any manner, hope for such a progress of their dogma, (to which both nature, intent on its own interests, and the authority of *those who were* everywhere governing, were repugnant), except in consequence of a Divine promise. There may be added to *this*, that they could, in no manner, promise themselves, that even this renown, whatsoever it was, *would be* durable, since they were looking out for the end of the whole world, as if *it were*, depending

on the next *moment*;—which both their own writings, and *those* of the Christians that follow *them*, make most evident. It remains, therefore, that they be said to lie for the sake of defending their own Religion; which cannot, at all, be said of them, if the matter be rightly weighed. For, either they believed, from a persuasion of the mind, that that Religion *was* true, or they believed not. If they had not believed *that it was* the best, they would never have made choice of this,—other religions, more safe, and more honourable, having been passed over *by them*. Nay, although *they had believed that it was* true, they would not have professed *it*, unless they had also believed that the profession thereof *was* necessary; especially, as they could both easily foresee, and by experience might straightway learn, that this profession drew after itself the death of an immense troop, to give occasion for which *death*, without just cause, did not fall short of the guilt of felony. But if they believed that their Religion *was* true, yea, also, the best, and by all means to be professed, and *that*, too, after the death of their Master: surely, that could not happen, if their Master's promise, concerning His own resurrection, had deceived them. For, to any man in his wits, that would have been enough, for *his* shaking off a belief *that he had* previously entertained.

Again, every religion, but especially the Christian *Religion*, prohibits lying and false testimony, most of all in Divine matters: therefore, they could not be induced to lying by the love of Religion, and *that* too such *a Religion*!—Add besides, that they were men of a life not blamed, even by *their* adversaries, and against whom nothing is objected, except *their* simplicity only, the nature of which falls very far short of forging a lie.—There was not even one of them, who did not suffer whatever *trials were* the most grievous, on account of that profession *of theirs*, concerning Jesus having been raised up again. Many of them were put to the most exquisite death, because of that testimony. Now, in truth, *suppose*, that it may happen, that some one, possessed of his reason, may endure such things, on account of an opinion entertained in *his* mind: yet that, for a falsehood, which he knew to be a falsehood, not some one only, should be willing to suffer *punishments* so rigorous, but that many, whom it nothing concerns that the falsehood is believed, *should be willing to suffer*,—is a thing utterly incredible. Now, that they were not mad, both *their* life and writings sufficiently testify. What we have said of those first *disciples*, the same may be also said of Paul, who openly preached that Christ, *as* reigning in heaven, *was* seen by him, when there was wanting to him nothing of Jewish learning; nor the hope of honours,—if he had kept to the way of the Fathers. But, on the other hand, he must, on account of that profession, both lie under the odiums of his own relatives, and undertake difficult, dangerous, and laborious travels *over* the

whole world, and, at last, also undergo a punishment attended with infamy.

§ VIII.—A SOLUTION TO THE OBJECTION, DRAWN FROM THAT ARGUMENT, *VIZ.*, THAT THE RESURRECTION SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE.

Surely, no one can withdraw *his* belief from so many, and such, testimonies; unless he say, that the thing itself is such, that it can, in no way, be done: as are those things, which imply a contradiction, as they speak. That, however, cannot be said, of this matter.—It might, indeed, if any one could pronounce, that the same *person* was both alive, and was dead, at the same time. But, that life may be restored to a dead *body*, especially by the efficacy of Him, Who first gave life to man, there is no reason, why it should be accounted for *a thing* impossible. Nor, in truth, have wise men believed it *to be* impossible; since Plato has written, that it happened to Er, an Armenian; Heraclides *a philosopher*, of Pontus, *relates, that it happened* to a certain woman; Herodotus *mentions, that it happened* to Aristæus; Plutarch *records, that it happened* to another:—which things (whether they are true, *or*, whether false) shew the opinion of learned *persons*, concerning that matter, as *being* a possible thing.

§ IX.—THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS BEING GRANTED, *IT FOLLOWS*, THAT THE TRUTH OF THE DOGMA IS PROVED.

But, if it is not an impossible thing, that Christ should have returned to life,—and *if* that *fact* is sufficiently evident from great testimonies, whereby Bechai, a Master of the Jews, being convinced, acknowledged the truth of this matter,—and also *if* that same Christ (as both His own *disciples* and aliens confess) published a new dogma, as by a Divine commandment,—it undoubtedly follows, that *that* dogma is true:—Inasmuch as it is contrary to the Divine justice and wisdom to honour, in so transcendent a manner, Him, who had committed falsehood in a matter so great *as this is*. Especially, indeed, since He Himself, before His death, had foretold, to His own *disciples*, both *His* death and the kind of death, and His return to life, and *this saying*, too, being added *by Him, viz.*, that these things, *were*, therefore, about to come to pass, in order that it might be evident concerning the truth of His dogma.

§ X.—*IT IS HERE PROVED*, THAT THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION SURPASSES ALL OTHERS.

And these arguments, indeed, arise out of the Facts of *the case* itself: Let us now proceed to those, which arise out of the nature of the dogma. Surely, either all worshipping of God is utterly to be rejected (which *impiety* can never come into mind, to him, who believes both that there is a God, and that *God* takes care of things created *by Himself*; who considers man as endued with an excellent understanding, as well as with the power of

choosing moral good and evil, and, consequently, that he is a subject, in himself, as of reward, so also of punishment); Or, *else*, this Religion *is* to be admitted, not only on account of the testimonies of the facts, concerning which we have already treated, but also on account of those things, which are intrinsecal to Religion:—since none, out of all ages and nations, can be produced, either more excellent in point of the reward, or more perfect in point of the precepts, or more admirable in point of the manner in which it was commanded to be propagated.

§ XI.—THE EXCELLENCY OF THE PROPOSED REWARD.

For, to begin with the Reward, that is, with the end propounded to man, because that, as is wont to be said, is the last thing in execution, but is the first thing intended. Moses, in the institution of the Jewish Religion, (if we have regard to the express conditions of the Law), promised nothing beyond the good *things* of this life:—*viz.*, ‘a fruitful land, abundant provision, victory over enemies, long and healthy old age, and posterities, coupled with good expectation, surviving *them*’. For, if there is anything beyond, it is veiled in obscurities, or it is to be inferred by wise and difficult reasoning; which was the cause, why many, who professed that they followed the Law of Moses,—as, *for instance*, the Sadducees,—cast away all hope of good things to be obtained after this life.

Among the Grecians, to whom learning was conveyed down even from the Chaldæans and Egyptians, they, who had some hope of life, after the end of this visible life, used to speak very doubtfully on that subject; as appears from the dissertations of Socrates, from the writings of Tully, Seneca, and others. And although they diligently searched for arguments for that point, they, for the most part, stated nothing certain. For, those *arguments* which they bring forward, do not generally succeed more in regard of man, than in regard of beasts: which *fact* when some observed, it is not so much to be wondered at, if they imagined a transition of souls from men to beasts, *and* from beasts to men.

But, again, since this also was relying on no testimonies, or sure arguments, (and yet it could not be denied, but that some end was propounded to man), therefore others were led on, to think that ‘virtue is to itself a reward’; and that a wise man is happy enough, even in Phalaris’s *brazen* bull! But this, too, not without cause, displeased others, who saw well enough, that happiness, especially the highest, could not be placed in that state, which brought, along with itself, dangers, inconveniences, torture, death, (unless *one* be free to follow the sound of words, without the sense of things): and, therefore, they have set man’s supreme good and end, in those things, the pleasure of which is enjoyed by the senses. But this opinion, also, was refuted, and *that*, too,

effectually, by very many, as *being one* which would extinguish all integrity, (certain seeds of which we possess, preserved in the heart), and would degrade man, made erect for the purpose of lofty *objects*, to the *mere animal* sense of cattle, which, stooping downward, regard nothing but an earthly *object*. In so great doubts was mankind wandering, perplexed, at that period, when Christ brought in the true knowledge of the end *of man*; promising, to His followers, life, after this life-time, not only without death, without grief and trouble, but even attended with the highest joy: and that, not only to a part of man, that is, to the soul, (of the happiness of which, to be hoped for after this life, there was partly conjecture, partly some tradition, extant), but *life* also to the body; and *that*, too, most justly, in order that the body, which, on account of the Divine Law, must often suffer losses, tortures, and death, might not be without recompense. Now, the joys, which are promised, are not vile, (as *are* the banquets, which the grosser Jews hope for, after this life, and the embraces, which the Mahometans promise themselves: for *both* these *sensualities* are remedies of mortality,—proper to *this* perishable life; the former, indeed, for the preservation of living creatures, individually; the latter, in truth, for the continuation of the species, *generally*): But, in *human* bodies, *there will be* constant vigour, and a more than starlike beauty;—in the soul, *there will be* an understanding, without error, even of God and Divine Providence; and *of aught else*, if anything now lies concealed. *There will be*, indeed, a will *that is* tranquil, chiefly occupied in the beholding, admiring, and praises, of God. On the whole, all things *will be* much greater and better, than can be conceived by a comparing of the best, and the greatest, things *in this world*.

§ XII.—*HERE* IS SOLVED, BY THE WAY, THE OBJECTION TAKEN THENCE, *VIZ.*, THAT BODIES DISSOLVED CANNOT BE RESTORED.

Here, besides that objection, which we have just before answered, [*in Book II. § VIII.*], another is wont to be alleged, as if it were utterly impossible, that men's bodies, which have been dissolved, can return to the same frame. But this relies on no reason. For, since it is agreed among most philosophers that, in things, how much so ever changed, matter remains, capable of different appearances;—who can say, that either God does not know in what places, although very far distant, the parts of that matter are, which belonged to the human body, or that power is wanting to Him, whereby He may bring them back, and reconstruct *them*? and may do the same thing in His own universe, that we see chymists do in furnaces, or vessels, in order that they may collect things which are of the same sort, although dispersed? But that a thing, how much so ever changed in appearance, may nevertheless return to the form of its own origin,—of that there are examples even in the nature of things, as *for instance*, in the seeds of trees, and of living creatures. Neither is that

unsoluble, which is tyed *as* a knot by many, with regard to human bodies, which pass into nourishments of wild-beasts or cattle; upon which *beasts*, so fed, men again feed. For, the greatest portion of those things which are eaten, does not turn into part of our body, but into excrements, or humours of the body, *such* as both phlegm and bile are: and with regard to that which has the power of nourishing, much is consumed by diseases, *or* by internal heat, or the surrounding air: And since those things are so, God, who even so careth for the species of dumb animals, that none of them may perish, is able to provide for human bodies with a certain peculiar care; in order that that, which goes for food of other men, may not be more converted into the substance of those *men*, than poisons, or medicines, are wont *to be*; and, on that *account* the rather, because it appears, naturally as it were, that human flesh *was* not given for men's food. If that be not *so*, and *if* something (which may have been added to the latter body, from some cause *or other*) must depart therefrom, yet this will not make *it*, not to be the same body; forasmuch as, even in this life, a greater change of particles, *than that amounts to*, takes place. Yea, both the butterfly is contained in the worm, and the substance of herbs, or of wine, *is contained* in some very small thing, whence they may again be restored to *their* true size. Surely, since both these, and many other things, may, not disadvantageously, be supposed, there is no reason, why the restoration of a body dissolved should be reckoned among the impossible things; since learned men, *viz.*, Zoroaster among the Chaldeans, nearly all the Stoics, and Theopompus, among the Peripatetics,—believed both that it might happen, and that it would be.

§ XIII.—THE TRANSCENDENT HOLINESS OF THE PRECEPTS
RELATING TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

The second thing, wherein the Christian Religion surpasses all others, which either exist, or have existed, or can be imagined, is the supreme holiness of *its* precepts, both in those things *that* appertain to the worship of God, and those *that appertain* to other matters.

The holy *rites* of the Pagans, throughout almost the whole world, (as Porphyry shews at large, and the navigations of our own time inform *us*), were full of cruelty. For, *it was a thing* almost everywhere admitted, that the gods were appeased, even by human blood. Which custom neither the Greek learning, nor the Roman laws took away: as appears from those things which we read, concerning the victims made to Bacchus Omesta among the Greeks; concerning a Greek *man*, and a Greek *woman*, concerning a Gaulish *man*, and a Gaulish *woman*, having been slain *in sacrifice* to Jupiter Latialis. Now, those most holy mysteries, whether of Ceres, or of Father Liber, (*Bacchus*), have

all been very full of obscenity ; as appeared, when once (the scruple of secrecy having been broken through) they began to be divulged : which *fact* Clement, the Alexandrian, and others, relate at large. Moreover, in truth, those days which were consecrated to the honour of the gods, were celebrated with such spectacles, that it shamed Cato to be present *at them*.

Howbeit, the Jewish Religion contained nothing, indeed, unlawful or dishonest ; but, notwithstanding, lest the Jewish people, prone to idolatry, might revolt from the true Religion, it was burthened with many precepts, of such things, as, in themselves, contained neither goodness nor wickedness :—*such* as are the sacrificings of cattle, Circumcision, the entire rest of the Sabbath, and the interdicting some one of many meats ; some of which precepts the Mahometans have borrowed, the prohibition of wine having been added *by the Mahometans*.

Howbeit, the Christian Religion teacheth, that God, as being a most pure Mind, *is* to be worshipped with a pure mind, and with such services, as in their own nature, even without a precept, are most honourable. Thus, it willeth, not that the flesh, but that the desires, be circumcised ; not that we keep holiday rest from every work, but from an unlawful *one* ; not to dedicate to God the blood or fat of cattle, but, if need be, to offer our own blood, for testifying His truth. And, what we give, from our goods, to the needy, to believe *that they are* given to God : not to abstain from certain kinds of meats or drink, but to use both with *that* moderation, which may suit the health ;—sometimes to give the body *when* subdued by the soul, even to fastings ; by which means that *soul* may, the more cheerfully, be carried to things above. But the principal part of Religion is everywhere shewn *to be* founded on a pious confidence, by which, being disposed to a faithful obedience, we rely wholly upon God, and have an undoubted faith in His promises : Whence, also, there arises the hope, and a true love, both of God and *our* neighbour ; whereby it comes to pass, that we obey His precepts, not in a servile manner, *through* fear of punishment, but that we may please Him, and have him for His goodness, *our* Father and Rewarder. We are, in truth, commanded to pray, not that we may get riches or honours, and those other things which, having been much wished for, have fallen out disastrously to very many ; but, first of all, *we are commanded to pray that we may* get those things which are glorious to God. But, *as it relates* to ourselves, *we are commanded to pray*, with regard to perishable things, *that we may obtain* those things which nature desireth, leaving the rest to Divine Providence, *being* secure on whichever side *our* state may have fallen. But *we are commanded to pray*, with all earnestness, *for* those things which lead to eternal things, viz., *for* the pardon of sins past, *for* the assistance of the *Holy* Spirit for the future, by which being strengthened against all threats and

allurements, we may persevere in a pious course *to our lives' end*.

This is the worship of God, in the Christian Religion, than which *worship* nothing can be invented more worthy of God.

§ XIV.—ABOUT THOSE OFFICES OF HUMANITY, WHICH WE OWE TO A NEIGHBOUR, THOUGH *WE ARE* INJURED BY HIM.

Similar are the offices which are exacted *from us* towards a neighbour. The religion of Mahomet having originated in weapons, breathes nothing but weapons, is propagated by weapons. So also *as to* the statutes of the Laconians, which were most applauded *of any* among the Grecian *statutes*, even by the Oracle of Apollo, Aristotle notes, and sets down for a fault, that they were wholly directed to warlike force. But the same *philosopher* says, that war against barbarians is natural; when on the contrary, it is true, that friendship and society between men *is* appointed by nature. For, what *is* more unfair, than that single murders be punished, *but that those* of slaughtered nations be paraded in triumphs, as a glorious achievement? And yet, that so much celebrated Roman City, how hath it obtained so great a name, but by wars, often manifestly unjust, as *the Romans* themselves confess, with regard to the war against Sardinia and Cyprus? And, certainly, in general, (as hath been transmitted to memory by famous compilers of annals) *men*, in most nations, accounted robberies, *perpetrated* beyond *their own* territories, no disgrace. The exacting of revenge, Aristotle and Cicero place on the side of virtue. The mutual butcheries of gladiators were among the public sports of the Pagans; to expose *their* children, *was* a daily *occurrence*.

Among the Hebrews, indeed, *there was* a better Law, a more holy discipline: but yet, in a people of ungovernable wrath, *there were* some things connived at, or even allowed them:—as, *their* violence against seven nations, deserving it; with which not contented, they persecuted all that differed from them, with a cruel hatred; the signs of which appear even now, in their prayers framed against the Christians. Howbeit, to avenge his pain by the sentence of retaliation, to kill a man-slayer, by the private hand of his kinsman, was permitted *a man* by the Law itself.

But the Law of Christ wholly forbids *us*, to return an injury *that is done us* either in words or deeds; lest the wickedness, which we condemn in others, we should again allow, by imitating. It wills that good be done, to the good indeed, chiefly, but to the wicked also; after the example of God, from Whom we have the sun, the stars, the air, the winds, the showers, *as* gifts common to all men whatsoever.

§ XV.—ABOUT THE UNION OF THE MALE AND THE FEMALE.

The union of the male with the female, whereby mankind is propagated, is a thing most worthy of the care of the laws. That that part *of them was* neglected by the Pagans, it not surprising,

it, and veracity to be so regarded in every discourse, that an oath may not, indeed, be exacted from us.

§ XVIII.—ABOUT OTHER DEEDS.

And, plainly, nothing excellent can be found, either in the philosophical writings of the Grecians, or in the opinions of the Hebrews, or of other nations, which is not contained here, and, indeed, as sanctioned by Divine authority: suppose, concerning modesty, *and* temperance, concerning goodness, concerning decency of manners, concerning prudence, concerning the duty of magistrates and of subjects, *concerning that* of parents and of children, of masters and of servants, likewise *that* of married *folks* between themselves; but, chiefly, concerning the eschewing vices, (which have, by a certain shew of virtue, deceived very many Grecians and Romans), *concerning*, that is to say, the desires of honours and glory. But the sum of the precepts of Christ is admirable for *its* substantial brevity, *which is*,—that we should love God above all things, but *that we should love a* neighbour according as *we love* ourselves; that is, that we should do to another, what we wish to be done to us.

§ XIX.—HERE IS SOLVED, THE OBJECTION DRAWN FROM THE CONTROVERSIES, WHICH ARE AMONG CHRISTIANS.

Some one, peradventure, may object, against the excellency of the Dogmas of Christ, which we preach,—the great difference of opinions among Christians, whence a multitude of sects also hath sprung. But the answer *is* ready, *viz.*, that the same thing happens in almost all the arts, partly *through* the weakness of human nature, partly because the judgement is fettered by the affections: but those varieties of opinions are wont to stop within certain limits, respecting which there is an agreement, and wherefrom an argument against doubts is fetched *by parties*. As, *for instance*, in the mathematics, it is disputed, whether a circle can be squared; not so, whether, if equals be taken away from equals, what are remaining be equals; and the same thing is to be seen in the Natural *Sciences*, in Physic, and in other Arts. So, also, that difference of opinions among Christians, cannot hinder, but that, respecting the main *points*, that is, respecting those precepts, for which we have most of all commended the Christian Religion, there may be sufficient agreement; and the certainty of those *precepts* appears in this very *fact*, *viz.*, that they who, *when* inflamed with hatreds between themselves, seek for an occasion of disagreeing, durst not proceed so far as to deny, that these *were* commanded by Christ,—not even those very *persons* indeed, who are unwilling to frame their life according to that rule. But if any one should wish to gainsay even these *precepts*, he is to be accounted like to *those* philosophers, who denied that snow *is* white: For, as these are confuted by sense,

so *are* those by the agreement of all Christian nations, and of the books which the first teachers of the Christian Religion have written, and *those* next to the first, and *those who* followed in succession, *have written*,—even those, who have testified *their* faith in Christ by *their* death. For, *that* which all these acknowledge as the Dogma of Christ, that is to be accounted as such by an impartial judge of matters :—like as we give credence to Plato, to Xenophon, and to other *scholars* of Socrates, concerning the dogmas of Socrates ; *and*, to the School of the Stoics, concerning them which Zeno hath handed down.

§ XX.—THE SUPERIORITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS FURTHER PROVED :—

(1). FROM THE SUPERIORITY OF THE MASTER HIMSELF.

The third thing, wherein we said, that the Christian Religion surpasses all others, which exist, or can be devised, is the mode itself, in which it was delivered and propagated : on which point, the first consideration is of the Author Himself of the Dogma. The authors of Grecian wisdom did themselves confess, that they stated almost nothing certain : because, *said they*, truth is sunk, as it were, in a well, and our mind is not less eclipsed by Divine things, than the eyes of an owl by the brightness of the sun. Moreover, *there was* not one of *these* very *persons*, who *was* not involved in some vice : some *being* flatterers of kings ; others being addicted to the amours of harlots ; others, to doglike impudence. But a great proof of the envy of all, between themselves, *is this, viz., their* squabbles about words, or matters of no moment : but *that of their* coldness in the worship of God, *is, the fact*, that even they who believed in one God, notwithstanding, *upon that God* being set aside *by them*, shewed a reverence for others, and *for those*, too, in whom, *as* gods, they did not believe ;—settling that *to be* the rule of *their* religion, which was publicly received. Touching the reward of piety, also, they avouched nothing *as a matter* of certainty, as appears, at least, from that last disputation of Socrates, *when he was* about to die.

Mahomet, the author of a far-spread religion, *was* abandoned to lust throughout all his life,—*is a fact that* is not denied, even by his own *followers*. Then, indeed, he gave none assurance, by which it might be evident, that there will really be that, which he promised *as* a reward, consisting in banquets and venerary ; since it is not even said, that his own body had returned to life, yea, *more, since* it is lying at Medina to this day.

Howbeit, Moses, the framer of the Hebrew Law, an excellent man, is not, however, freed from all blame ; since he both barely, together with much reluctance, undertook the embassy, delegated to him by God, to the king of Egypt, and showed some distrust at the promise of God, concerning the bringing forth water out of the Rock, as the Hebrews confess. Of those rewards, indeed, which by the Law he promised to his own *followers*, he scarcely

obtained aught himself: being harassed by continual seditions in desert places, and not entering into that happy land.

Howbeit, Christ is described, by His *Disciples*, as free from all sin, nor is He convicted, by testimonies produced by others, of any offence. Then, in truth, whatsoever He prescribed to others, that He performed Himself. For, He faithfully fulfilled those *commissions* which were delegated to Him by God; being most plain in all *His* life, most patient of injuries and tortures, as He shewed in the very punishment of the cross; most loving to men, even to *His* enemies, by whom He was brought to death, so that He even earnestly entreated God for the same.

As to the reward, which He promised to His own *disciples*, He Himself is both reported and proved, on certain authority, *to have been* made partaker thereof, in the most surpassing manner. For, many saw, heard, even handled *Him when* restored to life; He was carried up into heaven, the 12 looking on; He is shown to have there obtained power, that is supreme, by *that fact, viz.*, that He endued His followers both with the utterance of languages, which they had not learned, and with other miraculous powers, so as He had promised, *when* departing, that He would do: All which things make *it* to be neither, in any manner, possible to doubt of *His* Faithfulness, nor of His Power, to recompense us with that reward which He hath promised. And thus we infer, that this Religion is distinguished above other *Religions* in this, *viz.*, that its Teacher performed *those things*, which He commanded; He Himself obtained *that*, which He promised.

(2). FROM THE WONDERFUL PROPAGATION OF THAT RELIGION.

Let us now also see the effects of the Dogma brought in by Him; which *effects*, assuredly, if they be regarded aright, are such, that, if God hath any care of human affairs, this Dogma cannot be disbelieved *to be* Divine. It was agreeable to Divine Providence to bring this to pass, that that which was best, might extend as widely as possible. Now, that hath befallen the Christian Religion;—which *Religion we* ourselves see is taught throughout all Europe, the recesses even of the North not excluded;—nor *is it* less *so* throughout all Asia, even the islands thereof in the ocean; throughout Ægypt also, throughout Æthiopia, and some other parts of Africa; and, lastly, throughout America. And that this is not done only now, but that *it was* also formerly done, the histories of all times shew, *as well as* the books of Christians, the Acts of Synods, the ancient tradition, *that is* now also preserved among the Barbarians, concerning the journeys and miracles of Thomas, of Andrew, and of other Apostles. Clement, Tertullian, and others remark, how extensively the name of Christ was famed, even in their times, among the Britons, the Germans, and other most remote nations. What religion is there, that can compare with so extensive a possession?

For, if you should speak of Paganism, you would speak of one name, not one Religion. For, neither did *Pagans* worship the same *object*: some, forsooth, *worshipped* the stars; others, the elements; some, cattle; others, things *that were* not subsisting; neither *did they worship* by reason of *there being* the same law, nor *by reason of there being* any Master common *to them all*.

The Jews *are* scattered, indeed, but *are* one nation; neither hath their Religion received any remarkable growths, since *the time of* Christ: nay, their own Law became more known by means of the Christians, than by means of themselves.

Mahometanism is sufficiently settled in many countries, but *does not stand* alone. For, the Christian Religion, also, is venerated throughout the same countries, by a greater number of *people* in some places: whereas, on the contrary, Mahometans are not found in most parts, where there are Christians.

- (3). *FROM* CONSIDERING THE WEAKNESS AND SIMPLICITY OF THOSE, WHO TAUGHT THAT *RELIGION* IN THE PRIMITIVE TIMES.

It follows, *that* we see this also, *viz.*, by what instruments the Christian Religion hath made advances, that, in this particular, too, it may be compared with others. We see that most men are so disposed, that they easily follow the examples of kings and potentates; and, the more so, if there be law and compulsion on *their* side. Hence, the growths of the religions of the Pagans; hence, *those* of the Mahometan *religion*. Howbeit, *they*, who first taught the Christian Religion, were not only without all power, but also *were* of low estate, *viz.*,—fishermen, weavers, and whatever *is* the like thereto. And yet by the help of these, that Dogma within thirty years, or thereabouts, traversed not only through all parts of the Roman empire, but to the Parthians, also, and Indians.

Nor *was it thus* only in the very beginning, but during almost three ages, this Religion was promoted by the help of private *individuals*, without any threatenings, without any inducements;—yea, *while* the power, of those who held the reins of government, *was* resisting *them* as much as possible; so that, before Constantine professed Christianity, this portion of the Roman world was nearly the larger.

Amongst the Greeks, *they*, who delivered moral precepts, did, at the same time, render themselves commendable for other arts; as, the Platonists, for the study of geometry; the Peripatetics, for the history of animals and plants; the Stoics, for logical subtilty; the Pythagoreans, for the knowledge of numbers and concords: many also had a certain admirable eloquence, as, Plato, Xenophon, Theophrastus. Howbeit, the first teachers of Christianity *had* no such art, *their* language, *being* the plainest and without attractions, *it* declaring mere precepts, promises, and threatenings, in unadorned speech; and, since those things have

not efficacy, of themselves, equal to such advancements, we must, by all means, conclude, either that miracles attended *them*, or that the secret operation of God *was* assisting the business; or both.

§ XXI.—ALSO *THE SUPERIORITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION APPEARS*, FROM THE VERY GREAT IMPEDIMENTS, WHICH MIGHT DRAW MEN OFF FROM EMBRACING, OR MIGHT DETER *THEM* FROM PROFESSING, *IT*.

To which consideration, this also is to be added, that *they*, who received Christianity from those who taught *it*, did not have *their* mind, devoid of a certain form of Religion, and, for that reason, easy to be drawn, as *they*, who first received the Paganish sacred *rites*, and the law of Mahomet, *had their mind*; and, much less, *had they their mind* prepared *for it* by some antecedent institution, like as the Hebrews, by circumcision, and the knowledge of one God, were made fit to accept the Law of Moses: But, on the contrary, *they had their mind* filled with opinions; and with custom, (which *custom* is, as it were, another nature), that militates with those new institutes; *they* being educated, that is to say, confirmed, on the authority both of the laws and of *their* parents, in the Paganish sacred *rites*, or in the Jewish rites.

To this obstacle, another, not less, was added; namely, the most grievous evils, which, it was evident to those who received Christianity, *were*, for that reason, to be borne, or to be feared. For, seeing that human nature is averse to such evils, it follows, that *those tenets*, which are the causes of those evils, cannot be harboured, except with the greatest difficulty. The Christians were, for a long time, debarred from honours; fines, and confiscations of goods, and banishments have been added; but these *were* light *evils*: they were condemned to the mines; they were put to such torments, than which none more cruel could be invented. The punishments by death, in truth, were so frequent, that the writers of those times testify, that, by no famine, by no pestilence, by no war, *was* a greater number of men taken off at one time. Nor were they the ordinary kinds of deaths, but burnings alive, crosses, and that kind of punishment, which cannot be read or thought of without the greatest horror: and this barbarity, which (with no long pauses intervening, and these very *pauses* not everywhere) lasted until almost the times of Constantine, in the Roman world, longer elsewhere, was so far from diminishing them,—that, on the contrary, “their blood” might be said to be “the seed of the church”:—so that, upon *their* being cut off, the more *others* sprang up.

Here, likewise, let us compare other religions with Christianity. The Greeks, and the other Pagans, *having been* accustomed to magnify their own *things*, reckon *only* a few, who endured death for the sake of *their* dogma, *viz.*, some Gymnosophists, Socrates, not many more: but it is scarcely to be denied, but that there might be, in these most noted men, some desire of

transmitting *their* fame to posterity.—Howbeit, amongst the Christians, who suffered death on account of their Dogma, there were very many individuals, of the common people, scarcely known by their neighbours. *There were* women, virgins, young men, in whom there was neither the coveting, nor probable hope, of a name that would last; accordingly, there are also *but* few, whose names are extant in the Martyrologies; in comparison of the number of those, who suffered *capital* punishment for the same cause; and they are only enumerated in the mass.

There is to be added *to this*, that, by some slight dissembing, suppose, by throwing of frankincense upon the altar, most of them could free themselves from such a punishment.—Which cannot be said of those, who, whatever feeling they might suppress in *their* heart, had, certainly, in *their* visible deeds, accomodated themselves to the customs of the vulgar: so that, to have undergone death for the honour of God, cannot well be attributed to others, than to the Jews, and the Christians. And, not even to the Jews, after the times of Christ: before those *times*, in truth, to *but* few, if they be compared with Christians, of whom more suffered *capital* punishment for the Law of Christ in some one province, than the Jews ever *did*, all whose endurance, of this kind, is reduced almost to the times of Manasses and Antiochus.

Wherefore, since the Christian Religion, in this particular also, so immeasurably excels the rest of *religions*, it is deservedly to be preferred to others. From that multitude, so great, of every kind and sex of persons, distinguished by so many places and ages, who hesitated not to die for this Religion, it is to be inferred, that there was some great cause of such constancy,—which *cause* cannot be thought *to be* other, than the light of Truth, and the Spirit of God.

§ XXII.—REPLY IS *HERE* MADE TO THEM, WHO REQUIRE
MORE, AND MORE VALID ARGUMENTS.

If any one should think, *that he hath* not satisfied himself, with the arguments hitherto adduced, in defence of the Christian Religion, but should desire more cogent *ones*,—he ought to know, that, by reason of the diversity of things, there are also different kinds of proving.—Some *kinds, there are*, in mathematics; other *kinds* from the temperaments of bodies; some *kinds*, in respect of deliberations; other *kinds*, where there is a question of fact: in which kind *we* must, doubtless, rest—*when* the testimonies are labouring under no suspicion. And unless that *kind of proof* is admitted, not only is all the use of history destroyed,—a great part of physic likewise,—but also all the pious attachment, that there is, *naturally*, between parents and *their* children, as *those* whom we cannot know otherwise. Now, God hath willed that that which He would have believed by us (so that the very

believing it. He would accept from us as obedience; be not so clearly exposed to view, as things which are perceived by the sense, or by demonstration, but *only* so far as might be sufficient to produce faith, and to persuade *that* man of *such and such* a thing, *who is* not obstinate: That so the Word of the Gospel might be as a touchstone, by which curable dispositions might be tried.—For, since those arguments, which we have mentioned, have drawn so many good, and, at the same time, wise men into a compliance,—it is clear from this very *fact*, among others, that the cause of unbelief is not founded on the want of proof, but on this, *viz.*, that they are unwilling that that should seem true, which is opposed to their affections;—Because, forsooth, it is a hard *matter* for them, to account honours, and other advantages, of little *worth*,—which must be done, if they receive those things which are narrated concerning Christ, and *if*, for that reason, they think, that *they* must also obey the precepts of Christ. And it is discovered by that very thing, *viz.*, that they hold as true many other narrations of historians; which, however, appear to be true, on the mere authority of *another person*, *when* not even any vestiges of the *facts* are remaining at this day, *such vestiges* as the history of Christ hath,—partly, in the confession of the Jews, who now remain,—partly, in those assemblies of the Christians, which are everywhere found; of which surely, it must needs be, that some cause had existed. And, since the continuance, so long, of the Christian Religion, and the propagation *thereof*, so widely diffused, can be referred to no human efficacy,—it follows, that *the efficacy* must be attributed to miracles; or, if any one should deny, that it *was* caused by miracles,—this very *fact*, *viz.*, that any such-like *Dogma* should have received powers so great without a miracle, is to be reckoned greater than every miracle.

BOOK III.

§ I.—IN DEFENCE OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE BOOKS OF
THE NEW COVENANT.

He, who (having been already persuaded by these arguments, which have been adduced, or—*by any other arguments*—if there are any other besides these) shall believe¹ that, which the Christians profess, *to be* the true and the best Religion,—in order that he may learn thoroughly all the parts of it—must be sent to the most ancient Books, which contain (*lit.* containing) that Religion, which we call the Books of the New Testament, or, rather, the *New Covenant*. For he would act unjustly (*or* unfairly), whoever denies, that that Religion is contained in those Books, as all Christians affirm; since it is right (*or* fair) for every sect, whether good or bad, to be believed, in that which they assert, *viz.*, that “their dogmas (*or* tenets) are contained in this or that Book,”—just as we believe the Mahometans, that “the religion of Mahomet² is contained in the Alcoran.”

Wherefore—since the TRUTH of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION HAS, just before, BEEN PROVED, and *since*, at the same time, IT IS EVIDENT, THAT THAT SAME Religion IS CONTAINED IN THESE BOOKS—THEIR OWN AUTHORITY, even on THIS ground ALONE, IS SUFFICIENTLY ESTABLISHED BY THE BOOKS.³

If any one, notwithstanding, demand that this [*authority*] be more particularly shown to him, we shall first lay down that rule, customary among all impartial judges, *viz.*, That “upon him, *whoever*⁴ would (*lit.* wishes to) impugn any writing, *which has been* received for many ages, the onus must lie of adducing arguments, which detract (*lit.* detracting) credit from the *said* writing;” because, if he is unable to do that, the Book is to be defended, as in possession of ITS OWN AUTHORITY.

¹ Literally, “shall have believed.”

² MAHOMET, the Founder of MAHOMETANISM (or ISLAMISM) was born A. D. 571, and died at Medina in 631. His false Religion is compounded of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity, and contained in the Alcoran or Koran. He distinguished the Law (says Turner, in his “History of all Religions,” printed in 1695), into Written and Unwritten. (1) WRITTEN, *viz.* the ALCORAN; so called, from AL, this, and KORAN, reading, of 124 AZOARIAS, or CHAPTERS. (2) UNWRITTEN, *viz.*, the SUNA, or ASSONNA, Traditions, of which Bochari has published 7275 Titles, or Apothegms! It is remarkable, that this lying prophet began his imposture in the very year that the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant, Phocas, first assumed the title of Universal Pastor; and next claimed to himself that supremacy which he has ever since been trying to usurp over the Church of CHRIST. This was in 606, when Mahomet retired to his cave to forge his impostures: so that Antichrist seems to have planted BOTH his feet upon Christendom at one and the same time—one foot in the East, and the other in the West. (See “Life of Mahomet,” by Prideaux.)

³ Or, the clause may be translated: “Their own authority, even by this FACT alone, is sufficiently attached (or, confirmed) to the Books.”

⁴ The relative pronoun, “qui,” (who) is here rendered “whoever,” because it is indefinite,—no particular person being named. Hence the verb, “velit” (“would”), is in the subjunctive mood.

§ II.—*Here is shown, THAT THE BOOKS, WHICH HAVE NAMES PREFIXED, ARE THEIRS, WHOSE NAMES THEY BEAR.*

We say, then, that the Writings—about which no doubt is (*lit.* doubt is not) entertained among the Christians, and which bear a certain name—are *those* of that Writer, with whose title they are marked (*i. e.* designated): namely,—

[1] Because the first *Christian* writers,—for instance, (*lit.* suppose), Justin, Irenæus, Clement, and others in succession,—quote (*or* extol) these Books under these very names.

To which is to be added, *as follows* :—

[2] Because Tertullian says, that some original copies themselves of the Books, were still extant in his own time.

[3] Because also all *Christian* churches received these Books as such, (*as original copies*), before any General Synods were held.

[4] *Because* neither (*lit.*, nor either) the Pagans or the Jews ever raised a controversy, as if they were not the Works of those, whose they were said to be.

Julian, in truth, even openly confesses, that those *were* Peter's, Paul's, Matthew's, Mark's, Luke's,—which the Christians read inscribed with the same names.—Nobody in his senses doubts, that they are Homer's or Virgil's *works*, which are called theirs; by reason of the constant testimony of the Latins, concerning the latter,¹ and *that* of the Greeks, concerning the former.² How much rather ought *we*, with regard to the Authors of these Books, to abide (*lit.* stand) by the testimony of nearly all nations,—as many as exist in the world!

§ III.—*Here is shown, THAT THE DOUBT WITH REGARD TO THOSE BOOKS, which were FORMERLY DOUBTED, IS REMOVED.*

There are, indeed, in that Volume, which we now use, some Books not equally received from the beginning: as, *for instance*, the second *Epistle* of Peter; that which is James's; and Jude's; two under the name of John, the Elder; the Apocalypse; and the Epistle to the Hebrews: but, nevertheless, so *received*, that they were acknowledged by many churches;—which *fact* the ancient Christians show,—inasmuch as they use their testimonies as sacred. Whence it is credible, that the churches, which had not those Books from the beginning, were at that time ignorant of them, or doubtful concerning them; but that having afterwards been informed of the truth of the matter, they began to use those Books, after the example of the rest of *the churches*, as we see is done in almost all places.

Neither, in truth, can any sufficient reason be imagined, why any one should have forged those Books; since nothing can be gathered thence, which is not abundantly contained in the other unquestionable (*lit.* undoubted) Books.

¹ "Hoc" refers to the latter (Virgil). ² "Ille" refers to the former (Homer).

§ IV.—THAT THE AUTHORITY FOR THE BOOKS, WITHOUT A NAME IS EVIDENT, FROM THE CONDITION¹ OF THE WRITERS.

There² is also no reason, why any one should detract credit from the Epistle to the Hebrews, on this account alone, *viz.*, because the Writer of it is unknown; and, in like manner, from the two Epistles of John, and from the Apocalypse, because some *persons* doubt whether John the Apostle were the Writer of them, or some other of that name. For, in writers, *their* condition (or qualification) is more to be attended to than *their* name. Therefore, we receive many historical books, the writers of which we know not, as, *for instance, the book* concerning Cæsar's Alexandrian War; namely, because we perceive, that HE, whoever he was, both LIVED IN THOSE TIMES, AND WAS PRESENT AT THE TRANSACTIONS. So also it ought to suffice us, since they who wrote the Books, concerning which we are now treating, both testify that THEY LIVED IN THE FIRST AGE of *Christianity*, and that THEY WERE ENDUED WITH APOSTOLICAL GIFTS.

For, if any should assert, that these qualities (or qualifications) might be feigned, as, in other writings, even names *might be*; he would assert a thing by no means credible:—to wit, that they, who everywhere inculcate the study of truth and piety, have been willing, for no cause, to involve themselves in the guilt of forgery; which is not only detestable among all good *men*, but was even capitally punished by the Roman laws.

§ V.—THAT THESE WRITERS WROTE TRUTHS, BECAUSE THEY HAD A KNOWLEDGE OF THOSE THINGS WHICH THEY DID WRITE.

It must, therefore, be evident, that the Books of the New Covenant *were* written by those, whose names they bear, or by such *persons*, as they declare themselves *to be*: To which *arguments*, if there be added, that it is, likewise, evident, that the things which they wrote, were also known to them, and that they had no design of telling an untruth; it follows, that the things, which they have written, were true:—inasmuch as every falsehood must proceed either from ignorance, or from a bad intention.

Matthew, John, Peter, Jude were of the company of those 12, whom Jesus had chosen, *as* witnesses of *His* life and doctrines; so that a knowledge of those things, which they narrate, could not be wanting to them. The same may be said of James, who was either an Apostle, or, as others think, a very near kinsman of Jesus, and appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles. Paul also could not be deceived, through ignorance, about the doctrines, which he

¹ "CONDITION" or "QUALITY," of the writers. Say rather the quality of a WRITING or of a BOOK (not of a WRITER or an AUTHOR; and it is evident, says his commentator, Le Clerc, this is the meaning of Grotius, from his subsequent remarks.

² "Non est, quod (quare, cur);" "nihil est, quod;" "non habeo, quod;" have the same construction, in the sense of, "There is no reason, why"—"I have no," etc.

professes *were* revealed to him,—by Jesus Himself, who *now* reigns (*lit.* reigning) in heaven ; no more could he (*Paul*) be deceived about the things *that were* done by himself ; or *could* even Luke, the inseparable companion of his travels.¹ The same Luke could easily know what he wrote, concerning the life and death of Jesus ; (*he, Luke*) having been born in a place² very near, having travelled through Palestine itself, where, he says, that he even talked with those, who had been eyewitnesses of the facts *recorded*.—Undoubtedly, (besides the Apostles, with whom he had intimacy) many others were also then alive, having been healed by Jesus, and who had seen Him dying, and restored again to life.

If we believe Tacitus and Suetonius concerning those things, which happened long before they *were* born,—because we can rely upon their diligent inquiry,—how much more reasonable *is it*, for this Writer to be believed, who says, that he derived all *the facts* from the very *persons* who had beheld them !

It is a constant report, that Mark always clave to Peter, *as* a companion ; so that what things he wrote, are to be accounted as if Peter, who could not be ignorant of those things, had himself dictated *them* : Besides which, what he writes, are almost all found in the Writings of the Apostles also.—Neither could the Writer of the Apocalypse be deceived in those visions, which, he says, were Divinely sent down to him ; or he, *who wrote* to the Hebrews, *be deceived* in those things, which he professes that he had learned, either from the Spirit of God, or from the Apostles themselves.

§ VI.—AND BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT TELL AN UNTRUTH.

The other *argument*, which we have mentioned, *viz.*, that they had no intention of telling an untruth, is connected with that which we have before treated of [§§ VI., VII., Bk. II.] : when we were, in a general way, establishing the credit of the Christian Religion, and *that* of the history of the Resurrection of Christ.

They, who refute witnesses on the score of intention, must adduce some *argument*, whereby it may be credible, that *their* intention is diverted from speaking the truth : but this cannot be said here. For, if any one object that the cause of *the witnesses* themselves is served, it will have to be seen,³ why this must be their own cause : *It was* not, surely, for the sake of obtaining advantage, or of shunning any danger ; seeing that, on account of this profession, they both lost all advantages, and *there were* no dangers *which* they did not undergo. This, therefore, was not their own cause, unless out of reverence to God ;⁴—which *reverence*

¹ LITERALLY, "to him of travels." The dative case, "ei" ("to him"), being here used like the objective genitive, "ejus," ("of him," or "his.")

² *LIT.*, "in places;" the plural noun, "locis," is rendered in the singular number, as other plural nouns often are in this work.

³ *Idendum erit*, may also be rendered, "it will be right to consider."

⁴ *LIT.*, "of God."

certainly induces nobody to tell an untruth, especially in that business, whereon the eternal salvation of mankind depends. Both *their* dogmas, everywhere were full of piety, and their life (*that was* never accused of any wicked deed, not even by *persons* most inimical to *them*, who object to them want of learning [*lit.* unskilfulness] alone, which is not calculated to produce deception) forbid, that so impious an act should be believed with regard to them. But if there had been in them any, even the smallest, *degree* of bad faith, they themselves would not have transmitted their own faults to everlasting remembrance,—as *they have*, with regard to the flight of all *the disciples*, when Christ was in danger;¹ and with regard to Peter, thrice the denier of *his Lord*.

§ VII.—CREDIBILITY IS ESTABLISHED BY THE WRITERS² THENCE, *viz.*, IN THAT THEY WERE FAMOUS FOR MIRACLES.

But, on the other hand, God Himself has given illustrious testimonies to their good faith, by working wonders, which *wonders* they themselves, or their disciples, with great confidence, publicly asserted,—adding the names and other circumstances of persons and places: so that, by making inquiry, the truth, or falsity, of the assertion might most easily be detected by the magistrates.

Among which *wonders*, *that* is worthy of observation, which they very constantly proclaimed, both concerning the use, among many thousands of men, of languages, which they had not learned, and concerning diseases of bodies being suddenly cured, in the sight of the people. Neither *this fact* deterred them, which they knew, *viz.*, that, in those times, the Jewish Magistrates were very hostile to them, and the Roman *Magistrates* exceedingly unjust: who were likely to neglect no opportunity of traducing them, on any charge, as authors of a new Religion. But neither (*lit.* not either) the Jews or the Pagans, in those times nearest to the *transactions*, ever dared, to deny that wonders were wrought by these men: Yea, Phlegon, the freed-man of the Emperor Adrian, has recorded, in his “Annals,” the miracles of Peter. And the Christians themselves in those Books, in which they give account (*or*, a reason) of their faith to the Emperors, to the Senate, to the Presidents, affirm these facts as very notorious, and concerning which doubt could not be entertained *by them*. Yea, they even openly declare, that a miraculous virtue had continued at their sepulchres for some ages; when they were not ignorant, that, if that *assertion* were false, they could very easily be confuted by the magistrates,—accompanied with their own shame and punishment. But so great was the frequency of the wonders, wrought at the sepulchres, which I have spoken of;—So many *were* witnesses of

¹ *LIT.*, “in the danger of Christ.”

² Or, “CREDIBILITY IS ATTACHED TO THE WRITERS.”

them, that they have extorted, even from Porphyry,¹ a confession of its reality.² These ought to suffice, indeed, which we have mentioned;—but other arguments also contribute to the heap, which *arguments* recommend to us the credibility of those Books.

§ VIII.—AND *credibility is confirmed* BY THE WRITINGS³ THENCE, *viz.*, IN THAT MANY *predictions* ARE THERE, WHICH THE EVENT HAS PROVED *to have been* DIVINELY REVEALED.

Many predictions, forsooth, appear in those *Writings*, concerning matters, which men could not, by their own *mental* power, have known; which *predictions*, are wonderfully confirmed by the event itself:—as, *for instance*, concerning the sudden and vast propagation of this Religion; concerning the perpetual duration of it; concerning the rejection of it by most of the Jews, but the embracing *of it* by aliens (*i. e.* Gentiles); concerning the hatred of the Jews, against *those* who professed this Religion; concerning the very grievous punishments, to be undergone on the account of it; concerning the siege and destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; and *concerning* the very great calamities of the Jews.

§ IX.—THEN ALSO, FROM THE CARE, WHICH IT WAS FIT SHOULD BE TAKEN BY GOD, THAT FALSE WRITINGS SHOULD NOT BE FOISTED.

To these I add, that if we admit that God takes care of human affairs, and especially those which appertain to His own honour and worship, it is impossible that He should suffer so great a multitude of men (who had no other design, than to worship God devoutly,) to be deceived by fallacious Books. But, moreover, because after the springing up of so many sects in Christianity, scarcely any *sect* was found, which did not embrace these Books,—either all or most of *them*,—a few *Books* excepted, which contain nothing particular,—it is a great argument, why it should be believed, that nothing could be objected against these Books; inasmuch as those sects were inflamed with so great animosity among themselves, that whatever had pleased one, was, for that very *reason*, displeasing to another *party*.

§ X.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION, THAT MANY BOOKS WERE REJECTED BY SOME.

There were, indeed, among those who were willing to be called Christians, very few, who rejected all those Books *of the New Testament*, which seemed to contradict their own peculiar tenet. For instance, *those* who, either through *their* hatred of the Jews, used to revile the God of the Jews (the Maker of the world) and the *Jewish Law*. Or *who*, on the contrary, through dread of the

¹ Porphyry was a Platonic Philosopher, and a bitter enemy to the Christians, against whom he wrote. He died Anno Domini 301.

² *Viz.*, "the miraculous virtue."

³ Or, "AND *credibility is attached to* THE WRITINGS."

calamities which were to be undergone by the Christians, wished to be concealed under the name of Jews, to whom it was permitted to profess their religion, without punishment.¹ But these very *individuals* were disowned by all other Christians (who were everywhere) in those times when, as yet, all *persons* of sound piety, who dissented, were tolerated with great forbearance, according to the injunction of the Apostles.

The former sort of these corrupters of Christianity *are*, I think, sufficiently refuted above (Book I. § III. etc.), where we have shown, that there is One true God, Whose workmanship the world is: And, indeed, it is patent enough even from those very Books, which they—that they may in some measure appear to be Christians—receive, (*of such description* as Luke's Gospel is especially)—that the same God, whom Moses and the Hebrews worshipped, *was* preached by Christ.

The other sort *of these corrupters*, we shall then opportunely refute, when we shall attack those who both are, and are willing to be called, Jews.

In the meantime, I will say this—that the impudence of those is astonishing, who disparage the authority of Paul, when there was not one of the Apostles, who founded more *Christian Churches*, and *not one* of whom so many miracles were related, just at that time, when, as we lately said, an examination of the fact might be easy. But, if he wrought miracles, what reason is there why we may not believe him, both with regard to *his* heavenly visions, and *his* commission *which he had* received from Christ Himself? But, if he was so beloved by Christ, it is impossible that he should teach anything displeasing to Christ—that is, *anything* false! And, *as to* one thing, which they find fault with in him, namely, *his* dogma (opinion) with regard to the freedom procured to the Hebrews from the rites formerly enjoined by Moses,—he had no motive for (*lit.*, of) teaching it, except the truth, seeing that he was both circumcised himself, and did, of his own accord, observe most of the *Mosaic Law*; and also *seeing that*, for the sake of the Christian Religion, he both performed many things more difficult and more rigorous than the Law enjoined, or *than* he had reason to expect on the account of the Law; and he persuaded his disciples both to do and to suffer² the same things: whence it appears, that he did not at all pander to the ears or the *worldly* interests of *his* hearers, who, instead of the *Jewish Sabbath*, were taught to spend every day in Divine worship; instead of the little expenses according to the Law, to bear the loss of all *their* goods; and, instead of

¹ We must bear in mind that when Grotius wrote these lines he was undergoing the cruel sentence of perpetual imprisonment, chiefly on account of his *RELIGIOUS* sentiments.

² *LIT.*, "He was the author," (or, "adviser"), to his disciples of (their) doing and suffering. "*Auctor esset*," is here used in the sense of "*suaderet*" (He advised, persuaded, exhorted, stimulated).

the blood of their beasts, to dedicate their own *blood* to God. Moreover, Paul himself openly affirms, that right hands were given to him by Peter, John, and James, in token of fellowship; which, if it had not been true, he never would have dared to say, seeing that he could be convicted of a falsehood by *those very men, who were* still living.

These *two sorts of men*, therefore, whom I have mentioned, being excluded, who can scarce be reckoned by the name of Christians,—the most manifest unanimity of so many remaining assemblies, in point of receiving these Books, (besides those things, which we just now said, concerning the miracles which the Writers wrought, and concerning the special care of God in regard to matters of this kind,) ought to suffice all impartial *persons*, in order that credit should be given to the things narrated; inasmuch as credence is wont to be given to any other books whatsoever of historians¹ (which have no testimonies of this kind), unless a valid reason can be alleged to the contrary; which here certainly there is not (at all).²

§ XL.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION, AS THOUGH THINGS IMPOSSIBLE ARE CONTAINED IN THESE BOOKS.

For, if any one should say, that some things are narrated in these Books, which are impossible to be done, *we reply that*, whereas we have shown before [Bk. II.] that there are certain things which are impossible to be performed by men, but *which* can be by God,—that is to say, things which in themselves imply no contradiction, and *whereas we have shown*, that those miraculous powers, and the recalling of the dead to life, are also in the number of those things which we most wonder at,—this objection vanishes.

§ XII.—OR DISSONANT TO REASON.

Nor are they to be more heeded, who say, that some dogmas are to be found in these Books, which *dogmas* are dissonant to right reason. For, first, this is refuted by so great a multitude of men, eminent in talent, learning, *and* wisdom, who have relied on the authority of these Books, ever since³ the earliest times. Then, again, whatever things were shown, in the First Book, to be consistent with right reason—(for instance, that there is a God, and *that*, too, One only, the Most Perfect, of Unbounded Power, Life, Wisdom, Goodness,—*that* whatever things subsist, *were* made by Him,—that *His* care extends to all *His* works, especially to men,—that He is able, even after this life, to render rewards *to them who* obey Him,—that a bridle *is* to be put upon *our* sensual appetites,—that there is a relationship between men, and, consequently, *that it is* right to love one another)—all these you may find very

¹ "of historical [writers]:" "historicorum [scriptorum]."
² (at all): "nulla" is here used for "omnino non." ³ "Ever since," "jam inde a."

plainly delivered in these Books. To affirm anything, beyond these, for certain—either concerning the Nature of God or concerning His Will, by the sole guidance of human reason—the many (*lit.*, so many) opinions, clashing with one another (*lit.*, jarring among themselves) not only of the Schools, but also of individual Philosophers, teach us how unsafe and fallacious it is. Nor, in truth, is this surprising. For, if they fall into very widely different (*lit.*, very far distant) opinions, *when* disputing about the nature of their own mind, how much more must the same thing necessarily happen, to *those who* wish to define any thing concerning THE SUPREME MIND, and *Which is* placed so much above us !

If *men* skilled in *human* affairs, declare it dangerous to pry into the counsels of Kings, and, therefore, that we are not to attempt—who is there that is so sagacious as to hope that he can, by his own conjecture, find out that which God wills, out of the *various* kind of such things as He can freely will ? Wherefore, very well did Plato say—that “none of these things can be known without a Revelation (an Oracle).” Now, in truth, no Revelation (Oracle) can be produced, which can be proved to be really such by greater (more important) testimonies, than are those, which are contained in the Books of the New Testament (*lit.*, the New Covenant).

It is so far from proved, that it is not even asserted, that God has declared any thing to men concerning His Own Nature, which is repugnant to these Books ; nor can any later intimation of His Will be produced, which is credible. For, if any thing was otherwise commanded or permitted before the time of Christ,—with regard to this kind of matters, which are either plainly indifferent, (or certainly not at all binding of themselves), nor plainly disgraceful,—this does not oppose these Books ; because, in such matters, the latter repeal from the former laws.

§ XIII.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION—THAT SOME THINGS ARE CONTAINED IN THESE BOOKS, *which are* INCONSISTENT WITH ONE ANOTHER.

It is wont to be objected by some *men*, that “occasionally there is some difference of meanings in these Books.” But, on the other hand, whoever will judge of this matter with impartial feelings will find that this also may be added to the arguments IN SUPPORT OF THE AUTHORITY OF THESE BOOKS, *viz.*, that “in MATTERS, which CONTAIN IN THEMSELVES any IMPORTANT POINT OF DOCTRINE OR OF HISTORY, THERE IS UNIVERSALLY THE MOST MANIFEST AGREEMENT,” *such AS* CANNOT ELSEWHERE BE FOUND among writers of the same sect,—whether you take Jews, or Greek Philosophers, or Physicians, or Roman Lawyers ; in all which you may very often find that not only *those*, who are of the same sect, disagree (*lit.*, fight) among themselves—as *you may find that* Plato and Xenophon *did*—but that oftentimes even the same writer one while asserts one thing,

another while another, (*lit.*, now asserts this thing, now that), as if forgetting himself, or undecided what he should propound! But these Writers of the *New Testament*, concerning whom we are now treating, inculcate the same things to be believed—deliver the same precepts—also concerning the life, death, return to life, of Christ, the substance is everywhere the same. But, with regard to some¹ little circumstances, and which make (*lit.*, making) nothing to the purpose, it possibly might very easily happen, that an exact reconciliation may not be lacking, but *that* it may be unknown to us, on the account of similar things having been done at different times, and on the account of the ambiguity of the names—or, on the account of there being several names—either of this man or place; or, on the account of whatever is the like to these things.

Nay, this very thing ought to free these Writers from all suspicion of fraud; because they who depose to falsehoods are wont, by *previous* agreement, so to narrate all things, that there may not be,² even in appearance, anything different. But if, in consequence of some slight difference—even such as could not be reconciled—credit might depart³ from whole Books; then no Book, especially of histories, must be believed! Since, however, even to Polybius and Halicarnassensis,⁴ and Livy, and Plutarch, (in whom such things [*i. e. discrepancies*] are to be found) their own authority is allowed among us, touching the main points;⁵ how much more reasonable is it, that no such (*difference*) should destroy the credit of those *men*, whom we see, from their Writings, have always been most studious (most regardful) of piety and truth!

§ XIV.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION *derived* FROM FOREIGN TESTIMONIES: AND *it is* SHOWN, THAT THOSE *testimonies* MAKE [*lit.*, ARE] MORE FOR THESE BOOKS.

There remains another mode of refuting testimonies, *viz.*, by contrary testimonies *derived* from a foreign source. But I with confidence affirm, that such *testimonies* are not to be found,⁶ unless, perchance, any one would wish to reckon in that *category* (*lit.*, to refer thither) the sayings of *persons*, who were born long after the

¹ *LIT.*, "(as for) what relates to."

² *LIT.*, "appear;" which rendering, however, would make the consecutive words, *viz.*, "in appearance," redundant.

³ The corresponding Latin word, "*decederet*," is in the imperfect tense of the subjunctive mood, and is governed by "*si*." The argument is hypothetical, *viz.*, "If credit departed," or "were to depart," etc. (which it does not) "then," in that case, a "rejection of all books would follow." This tense and mood are used when the thing spoken of is not a reality, but a supposition.

⁴ Halicarnassensis, *i. e.* Dionysius Halicarnasseus, an historian, who wrote of the origin and history of Rome.

⁵ *LIT.*, "the sum," or "the main portion, of the points."

⁶ *Repertum iri*: "In what is called the infinitive future passive, "*iri*" is really the infinitive of the passive impersonal "*itur*" (things tend). Hence, "*talia repertum non iri*" strictly means, "things do not tend to finding such things." *i. e.* "such things are not about to be found." Consequently, the supine is unchanged, whatever be the gender and number of the substantive.

events, and of such, too, as having avowed *their* enmity to the Christian name, do not come under the name of witnesses.

Nay, on the contrary, (although there is no need of this *argument*), WE HAVE MANY TESTIMONIES, which CONFIRM some parts of the history delivered in THESE BOOKS. Thus, *for instance*, both Hebrews and Pagans make mention, that Jesus *was* nailed (*lit.*, fastened) to a cross; and that miracles *were* performed by Him and His disciples. The very lucid writings of Josephus—published a little after a period of 40 years since the departure (*i. e.* ascension) of Christ—are extant, concerning Herod, Pilate, Festus, Felix; concerning John, the Baptist; concerning Gamaliel; concerning the destruction of Jerusalem: with which *writings* those agree, which are read among the Talmudists concerning those very times.—Tacitus has transmitted to posterity the cruelty of Nero towards the Christians. Formerly, there were both extant Books (as well of private *individuals*,—as, for instance, those of Phlegon)—as also the Public Acts,¹ (to which the Christians used to appeal), in which there was agreement concerning that star which appeared after the birth² of Christ—concerning the earthquake—and the eclipse of the sun, contrary to nature, *when* the moon's orb *was* at the very full,³ about the time, in which Christ was put to (was suffering) the punishment of the cross.

§ XV.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURE HAVING BEEN ALTERED.

What further can possibly be objected against these Books, really I see not; unless, perhaps,—“that they have not remained such as they were (*lit.*, had been) from the beginning.”—It must be confessed, that, as in other books, so in these likewise, it might possibly happen, yea, it has happened, that, through the carelessness or the perverseness (*lit.*, the misapplied care) of the transcribers,⁴ some letters, syllables, *and* words were altered, omitted, added. But it is unreasonable—because of such difference of the copies, which could not (*lit.*, can not) but happen during many periods of *time*—that a controversy should be raised by such a Record or Book, *as the New Testament*; since both custom and reason require⁵ (*lit.*,

¹ The ancients, (the Romans, for instance,) used to have their “ACTA PUBLICA”—answering to our Newspaper—State Gazette or Journal, in which public acts and passing events were recorded and published.

² “Natum” is the perfect participle, which with the preposition, “post,” here supplies the place of a substantive, expressing the action of the verb.

³ *LIT.*, “the fullest.”

⁴ Before the invention of printing, the Holy Scriptures were copied by pen-men, many of whose copies are now extant,—very ancient and valuable. But amidst so great a mass of letters as the Bible contains, a good Scribe was liable (as a good printer of the present day is) to make small errors. Hence occurred omissions, repetitions, or misspelt words; which were often uncorrected, lest, by erasures, the Copies should be deteriorated in value; but by comparing the MSS., these errors have been rectified.

⁵ “Require” (“postulet”). When the subject consists of several nouns that are in the singular number, and that denote things without life, the *LATIN* predicate, as here, may be put in the singular, although the *ENGLISH* word is in the plural, number.

requires) that that *reading* which the most numerous and the most ancient copies exhibit, should be preferred to the rest. But, in truth, it never will be proved, that all the copies *were* corrupted by fraud, or by any other means whatever, and *that*, too, in those *parts* which appertained to Doctrine, or any remarkable point of History: For, neither are there Records, which show it—nor witnesses of those times. But if any thing, as we were lately saying, has been asserted much later, by those who practised the most cruel hatred against the Followers of those Books,—this is to be looked upon as reproach, not as evidence.

And these things, too, which we have mentioned, may possibly suffice, in reply to those who object [*that there is*] an “alteration of the Scripture:” because *he* who affirms this—especially against a Scripture long and extensively received—ought himself to prove what he contends for. But we,—in order that the folly of this objection may be more palpable,—will show that that which they pretend *is* fact, neither was done, nor could possibly be done.

We have before proved, that they are the Books of those Writers, whose names they bear: which *position* being granted, it follows that some Books are not foisted in the room of others. Any remarkable part also, has not been altered: For, since such alteration must have some design for it, that part would considerably (observably) differ from the other parts and Books, not in like manner altered; which *difference* is now nowhere to be seen; nay, as we have said, there is universally a wonderful harmony of the meanings.

Then, again, as soon as any of the Apostles or Apostolical men published any thing, there is no doubt but the Christians with great care—as became their piety and anxious desire of preserving and propagating the Truth to posterity—would take very many copies for themselves therefrom; which *copies*, consequently, were dispersed as far as the Christian name extended,—throughout Europe, Asia, and Ægypt, in which places the Greek language flourished. Nay, even some Original Copies, as we have just before said, [§ II. Bk. III.] were preserved, down to a period of 200 years *after the coming of Christ*.

Now, any ¹ Book, diffused into so many copies,—guarded not only by the private care of individuals, but also by the general *care* of the Churches—could not possibly undergo (*lit.*, receive) the forger’s hand. Add besides, that in the ages immediately contiguous, these Books were translated into the Syriac, the Æthiopic, the Arabic, and the Latin, language; which versions are even now extant, and differ in nothing of any moment from the Greek Books.

Moreover, we have also the Writings of those who were instructed (trained) by the Apostles themselves, or by their disciples,—who

¹ The Latin word “*aliquis*,” (like “*quispiam*”) strictly speaking, answers to our English expression, “Some one,” “some one, or other.”

cite a great many (*lit.*, not a few) passages out of these Books, in that sense which we now also understand (*lit.*, read) *them*. Nor, in truth, was there any one in the Church in those times of so great influence (authority), that he would have been obeyed if he had wished (*lit.*, *if* wishing) to alter any thing; as the free dissensions of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, from them who were the most eminent in the Church, sufficiently show. After those times, which I have been speaking of, many other *persons* of great learning, and of great judgment followed; who, after careful examination, received these Books as continuing in their original purity. And further, *that* which we lately said, concerning the different sects of Christians, may be applied to this place also, *viz.*, "That ALL THESE SECTS—at least, such as acknowledge God *as* the Creator of the world, and Christ *as* the Author of a New Law—MAKE USE OF THESE BOOKS, JUST AS WE HAVE THEM." But if any *of them* had attempted to interpolate any part, the rest would have denounced them as forgers. But, in truth, that no sect ever had that *degree* of impudence,—*viz.*, by altering to adapt these Books to their own opinions,—you may sufficiently infer even from thence [from that consideration *just named*], *viz.*, that all sects fetch arguments for themselves from hence [from this source], even against all *other sects*.

At the same time what we touched upon concerning the Divine Providence [§ IX. Bk. III.], relates to the principal parts, no less than to the whole Books; *viz.*, that it is not agreeable thereto (*i. e.* to *Divine Providence*), that God should suffer so many thousand men, *who were* studious of piety, and seeking eternal salvation with a sincere intention, to be led into such an error as they could not possibly at all avoid. And let these things, at least, be said in defence of the Books of the New Covenant [New Testament]; and if (*lit.*, which if) they alone were extant, there would be sufficient from which (*lit.*, whence) to learn the true Religion.¹

§ XVI.—IN DEFENCE OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD COVENANT.

Now, since it has pleased God to leave us the Records even of the Jewish Religion, which was once the true *one*, and *which* affords no small testimonies to the Christian *Religion*, it will not be foreign to *our* purpose to confirm (ratify) to them, likewise, their credibility. And that these Books (*of the Old Testament*) are theirs, whose they are called, is evident, in the same manner as we have proved it with regard to our own Books (*of the New Testament*).

And also they, whose names they bear, were either Prophets, or men most worthy of belief: *Such as was* also Esdras, who is believed

¹ [Nobis] satis esset [materiæ], unde [i. e. ut inde (or, ex quâ)] veram Religionem disceremus: *LIT.*, "there would be to us (i. e. we should have) sufficient subject-matter, to learn the true Religion from it."—Relative adverbs, when (as here) equivalent to demonstrative pronouns with *ut*, require the subjunctive mood.

to have collected them into one Volume, at the time in which the Prophets Aggai (Haggai), Malachi, Zachary (Zechariah) were still alive. I will not here repeat what things have been said before [§ XV. Bk. I.], in recommendation of Moses. And, in truth, not only that first part, (*the Pentateuch*), delivered by Moses (as we have shown in *our* First Book), but also the more recent history, has many (of the) Pagans as the vouchers *thereof*. So did the Annals of the Phœnicians bear the names of David and Solomon, and *their* leagues with the Tyrians. Berosus did (as well as [*lit.*, not less than] the Hebrew Books) make mention¹ of Nabuchodonosor and other kings of the Chaldeans. *He*, who is Vaphres,² the king of Ægypt, to Jeremiah, is Apries to Herodotus. Besides, the books of the Greeks are full of Cyrus, *the first*—and his successors—down to Darius (*Codomanus*), *the last, of the Persian Monarchy*. And Josephus, in *his* books against Appion, adduces many other things relating to the nation of the Jews; to which may be added, what we quoted before [§ XVI. Bk. I.], both out of Strabo and Trogus Pompeius. But, *as it regards us*³ who are Christians, there is no reason at all, why we should doubt of the credibility of these Books; when testimonies, out of almost every one of them, are extant in our own Books, which are likewise found in the Hebrew Books. Nor has Christ,—when He blamed many things in the Doctors of the Law, and in the Pharisees of His time, ever accused them of forgery committed on the Books of Moses or the Prophets; or because they made use of supposititious, or altered, Books.

That the Scripture, after the time of Christ, *was* corrupted in those passages which are important (*lit.*, possess importance), can neither be proved nor will be made credible, if any one has rightly reflected how far and wide the nation of the Jews, who everywhere guarded those Books, was dispersed over the face of the earth. For, first of all, the 10 Tribes were led away captive into Media by the Assyrians [*in the reign of Shalmaneser*, about 721 years B. C.]; afterwards, the two Tribes [*Judah and Benjamin, were taken captive to Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar, king thereof*, B.C. 606; *from which year the 70 years' captivity in Bābylon commenced*]. And of these [*Jewish tribes*], after their return (*to Jerusalem, their own City, which was* allowed by Cyrus [B. C. 536], many resided in foreign countries:—The Macedonians invited (allured) them by great advantages into Alexandria. The cruelty of Antiochus,—the civil wars of the Asmonæans, [Hasmonæans, or *Maccabees*],—the foreign

¹ "Did make mention": "meminerat" is the pluperfect tense of the defective verb, *memini*, and has the sense of the imperfect.

² That is:—"The King of Egypt, whom Jeremiah calls Vaphres, Herodotus calls Apries." By Vaphres is meant "Pharaoh-HOPHRA;" (See Jeremiah, xlv. 30.): The Septuagint and Eusebius translate the Hebrew word *CHOPHRA* (HOPHRA) into "Vaphres."—Pharaoh-Hophra was contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, (the second of that name) King of Babylon. The prefix ("Pharaoh"), however, was common to the Egyptian Kings.

³ "*As it regards us*": "[Quod ad attinet] nos." *LIT.*, "(as to what relates to) us."

Wars of Pompey and of Sossius scattered many abroad. The country of Cyrene was full of Jews;—the cities of Asia, of Macedonia, of Lycaonia—also the islands, Cyprus, Crete, and others—*were full of them*. Besides, the vast number of them at Rome, may even be learned from Horace, Juvenal, and Martial. By no artifice could imposition possibly be practised on assemblies so far distant from each other (*lit.*, among themselves); no more *could* they agree to a falsity. Add *to which*, that almost 300 years before Christ, by the care of the kings of Ægypt, the Books of the Hebrews were translated into the Greek language by them who are called the “Seventy;”¹ so that they were even possessed by the Greeks also, in another language, indeed, but, in point of sense, the same in the main; and, on this *account*, they could the less undergo (receive) alteration. Moreover, the same Books were translated both into the Chaldaic language and into *that* of Jerusalem (that is, the Semi-Syriac);—partly a little before, partly not long after, the time of Christ. Then followed other translations into the Greek, *viz.*, those of Aquila, of Symmachus, of Theodotion, which *translations* Origen compared, and others after him, with that of the “70”—there being no difference of history, or of matters that are weighty (*lit.*, having weight).

Philo flourished in the lifetime of Caligula: Josephus lived on till the times of the *two* Vespasians [*the father and his son, Titus*]: Both [*Philo and Josephus*] cite, out of the Books of the Hebrews those things which we read at this day. Now, in these very times, the Christian Religion began to be more and more spread; many, of those who professed which *Religion*, were Hebrews: many, *who were not Jews*, had in addition learned the Hebrew literature, for whom, consequently, it was easy, if any falsity had been admitted by the Jews (in a part, I say, remarkable) to detect and expose [*lit.*, make patent] that very thing,—by comparing of the more ancient Books. But this they not only do not, but they even adduce very many testimonies out of the Old Covenant [*i. e.* the Old Testament], plainly in that sense in which they are extant among the Hebrews: which Hebrews, assuredly, you may sooner convict of any crime whatsoever, than (I will not say of falsity, but)

¹ “Seventy”: Hence the title (from the latin word “SEPTUAGINTA”) of “SEPTUAGINT”—a standard Greek Version, from which the Evangelists, Apostles, and Primitive Fathers frequently quoted. Many of the latter thought that 70 or 72 elders (8 out of each of the 12 Jewish Tribes) translated all the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek. Probably, it was begun (if not finished) in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 285 years B.C., for the library which that Egyptian king founded at Alexandria (where he had 100,000 books). It was generally used among the the Hellenists, or Greek Jews, for whose benefit quotations were often made from that translation, rather than from the original (the Hebrew). Hence passages in our English version of the Old Testament (which was made from the Hebrew) differ in phraseology, but not in sense, from those in the New Testament, quoted from the Septuagint. It may here be remarked, that the Hellenists, or Greek Jews, lived where the Greek tongue was common; and they, not being much accustomed to Hebrew or Syriac, generally used the Septuagint. But the Hebrewising Jews made use of the Hebrew Version only of the Old Testament.

even of negligence in regard to these Books; since they are wont to transcribe and compare them with the greatest scrupulousness, so that they even numbered¹ the [*words and*] letters, as often as any one of them occurs.

There may be added, in the last place, a proof—and that by no means to be despised—of the *Old Testament* Scripture not having been altered on purpose by the Jews, *viz.*, BECAUSE THE CHRISTIANS, OUT OF THOSE VERY BOOKS WHICH THE JEWS² READ, DO EVINCE—and that, too, as they trust, forcibly (powerfully)—that THEIR MASTER, JESUS, IS THAT VERY MESSIAH, WHO, EVEN OF OLD, WAS PROMISED TO THE FOREFATHERS of the JEWS: which the Jews would, most especially, have taken care, could not possibly have been done (*lit.*, be done),³—after a controversy⁴ had arisen between them and the Christians,—if it had ever been in their power to have altered (*lit.*, to alter) what they wished.

¹ "Numbered: numeratas habebant" (*LIT.*, "have numbered"). The verb ["habebant"] here forms a periphrasis, instead of the verb of the participle ["numeratas"]. The verbs "curo, do, reddo," are sometimes similarly employed with participles.

² THE OLD TESTAMENT, in its original MSS., was long and faithfully preserved by the Jews. Even during the captivity and dispersion (and, after the destruction of the Ark and Temple) of that extraordinary and once highly favoured people, the Sacred Volume was kept in a miraculous manner, and has (praised be God!) been handed down from age to age—and is even possessed by us (Gentiles)—in all its pristine purity. Moreover, there is still extant a Samaritan Copy—called the *PENTATEUCH*—of the five Books of Moses, the only portion received by the Samaritans, who, after the Babylonish Captivity, were most bitter and implacable enemies of the Jews: and this copy, in every essential point, agrees with the Jewish copy.—If it had not been so, the world would have heard.

³ According to Philo and Josephus, the Jews would rather be put to death, than change a single point or iota, of their (Old Testament) Scriptures: and they had a law which denounced the slightest alteration as an inexcusable sin.

⁴ As before our Lord's coming, the enmity of the Jews and Samaritans was OVER-REULED TO PREVENT ANY CORRUPTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; so, since His advent, the opposition of Jews and Christians to each other—and the schisms of Christians among themselves have had the same effect with regard to the NEW TESTAMENT. The opposite party especially would have instantly exposed any attempt at forgery.—Tertullian and Jerome make mention of "a publication by a Presbyter of Asia, who forged the name of Paul, and was at once convicted; and notice of his crime speedily conveyed to Carthage and the Churches of Africa."

BOOK IV.

§ I.—A REFUTATION, IN AN ESPECIAL MANNER,¹ OF THE RELIGIONS THAT DIFFER FROM THE CHRISTIAN *Religion*.

The Fourth Book—beginning² with that pleasure, which most men take at the sight of another's danger, when they are placed out of danger themselves—shows, that the greatest *pleasure*³ of a Christian man in this life ought to be this, *viz.*, that he may not only congratulate with himself on *his* having found out the Truth, but *that* he may also render assistance to others, who—wandering in the various labyrinths of errors—are perplexed; and *that* he may make them partakers of so great a blessing. Which we have, in some measure at least, attempted to do in the *two* former Books; because the demonstration of Truth contains in itself the refutation of error. But, however—since the several kinds of religions, which oppose themselves to Christians (for instance, Paganism, Judaism, and Mahometanism), in addition to that which they have in common with each other,⁴ have some peculiar errors, and some particular arguments, which they are wont to oppose to us—we believe that it will not be foreign to *our* purpose,⁵ if we institute a special disputation against these several *kinds of religions*; begging *our* readers to free *their* judgment from prejudice [*lit.*, partialities⁶] and from long habit—as the shackles of a good understanding—in order that they may with a more impartial mind determine about those things which are to be said.

§ II.—AND, FIRST, a *refutation* OF PAGANISM: *We assert, THAT ONE ONLY IS GOD—THAT CREATED SPIRITS ARE EITHER GOOD OR EVIL—THAT THE GOOD are NOT TO BE WORSHIPPED, EXCEPT AT THE COMMAND OF THE SUPREME GOD.*

And, First of *all*, we say against the Pagans—If they suppose *there are* “many Gods, eternal and equal,”—this *notion* is already sufficiently refuted in the First Book; because we have *therein* shown [*lit.*, taught], “That ONE ONLY IS GOD—THE CAUSE OF ALL THINGS.” But if they call “created spirits” [*lit.*, minds], *which are* superior to man, by the name of “Gods,” [*we say that*] THESE ARE EITHER GOOD OR EVIL. If they say *they are* “good,” this ought, First of *all*, to be well known [*or, certain*] to them—[1] WHETHER THEY ARE GOOD?

¹ Another reading, in the Latin text, is—“Refutatio specialior: A more special refutation.”

² “Beginning”: The Latin, “initio facto,” is a periphrasis (literally signifying, “the beginning being made).”

³ Or, “the principal (ATM).”

⁴ A Grecism: Lit., “among themselves.”

⁵ “Non abs re [alienum] fore.”

⁶ “[Partium] studiis;” which might also be rendered, “from a party-spirit.”

Lest, haply, they err¹ most dangerously—in receiving enemies as friends, *and* deserters as ambassadors.

Moreover, reason requires that

- [2] THERE SHOULD BE SOME MANIFEST DISTINCTION, IN THE WORSHIP ITSELF, BETWEEN THE SUPREME GOD AND THESE SPIRITS.

Further—it would be requisite² to know,—

- [3] WHAT RANK THERE IS AMONG THESE SPIRITS?

- [4] WHAT GOOD MAY BE EXPECTED FROM EACH?

- [5] HOW MUCH THE SUPREME KING IS WILLING THAT EACH SHOULD BE HONOURED?

Since all these *things*³ [*i. e. points of information*] are lacking in their religion, it herefrom sufficiently appears that it has no [*lit.*, nothing of] certainty in it; and how much more safely they would act, if they would betake themselves to the worship of the One Supreme God (which even Plato has declared to be the duty of a wise man); and the more so [*or*, so much the more], because—since good spirits are ministers (servants) of the Supreme God—whoever enjoys the favour of God,⁴ cannot but have them devoted to him.

§ III.—IT IS *here* PROVED, THAT EVIL SPIRITS *were* ADORED BY THE PAGANS; AND IT IS SHOWN, HOW DEGRADING [*lit.*, UNWORTHY] THIS IS.

But, in truth, it is evident—from no light arguments—that the spirits, on whom the worship of the Pagans was bestowed, were not good,—but evil:—

FIRST *of all*, BECAUSE THEY REFERRED NOT THEIR WORSHIPPERS TO THE SERVICE [WORSHIP] OF THE SUPREME GOD.

Nay, they suppressed such worship as much as they were able;—or, at least they wished themselves, every way (*lit.*, all ways) to be equalled with the Supreme God, in point of worship.

In the SECOND *place*, BECAUSE THEY PROCURED THE GREATEST EVILS [INJURIES] TO THE WORSHIPPERS OF THE ONE SUPREME GOD—by inciting magistrates and people to *inflict* punishments on them (*lit.*, their punishments). For, when it was permitted, *by these evil spirits*, to the poets with impunity, to record [*lit.*, to sing] the murders [*lit.*, parricides] and adulteries of *their* Gods; and *when it was permitted* to the Epicureans to discard Divine Providence from *human* affairs—nor was there any other religion so different in *its* rites, that it could not be admitted into *their* society, as the Egyptian, the Grecian, the Tuscan, sacred *rites* at Rome⁵ *were—even then* the Jews alone were everywhere a *subject* for ridicule, as ap-

¹ "Err: labantur [in errorem]." LIT., "glide," or "fall, into error." ² See n. (2) p. 44.

³ "These [things]: Quæ," at the beginning of a sentence is often, as here, translated like a demonstrative, instead of (what it really is) a relative, pronoun. "Quæ omnia": LIT., "All which [things]."

⁴ LIT., "has God propitious to him."

⁵ "Rome." In the period of her greater refinement, Rome adopted the Gods of almost every nation whom she had conquered, and opened her temples to the grossest superstitions of the most barbarous people, while she persecuted none but Jews and Christians,—who alone possessed the light of truth.—("Nicholl's Help to reading the Bible.")

pears from the satires and epigrams of *those poets*: sometimes they were also banished. But the Christians, in addition to these things, were even put to the most cruel punishments;¹ of which proceeding no other cause can possibly be assigned, but *this, viz.*, that these two sects used to worship ONE God, Whose honour the received gods opposed—jealous (envious) not so much of each other [*lit.*, among themselves], as of Him.

In the THIRD *place*, FROM THE MODE OF *their* WORSHIP; which cannot become a good and virtuous mind, (spirit) *viz.*,

(a)—By human blood.

(b)—By racing *up and down* of naked men in *their* temples.

(c)—By games and dances, full of obscenity.

Such things as are even now seen among the people of America and Africa—who are overwhelmed in the darkness of Paganism. Nay—what is more—there were both of old, and there are now, PEOPLE, who ADORE EVIL SPIRITS, WHICH THEY KNOW AND AVOW² to be SUCH! As the Persians, who adore Arimanius; the Greeks, the Cacodæmons; the Latins, the Vejoves; and some of the Æthiopians and Indians now *adore* others:—than which nothing can possibly be imagined more impious.

For, what else is religious worship but [*lit.*, than] a testimony of *that* SUPREME GOODNESS, which you acknowledge *is* in HIM, whom you worship? which *worship*, if it is bestowed on an evil spirit, is false and hypocritical, and contains in it the crime of rebellion; because the honour due to the King, is not only taken away from Him, but is even transferred to His traitor and enemy! Now, it is a foolish persuasion, whereby they imagine “that a Good God will not punish (avenge) this, because that would be foreign to Goodness.” For, Clemency—to be just—has its *proper* limits; and where crimes become excessive [*lit.*, exceed measure], Justice, does, as it were, out of itself, necessarily produce punishment.

Nor is it less culpable, because they say, that “they are led on by fear, to pay homage to evil spirits:” Because He, who is Supremely Good, is also Supremely Communicative; and consequently, too, the PRODUCER OF OTHER BEINGS. But if He is—it follows, that HE HAS ABSOLUTE RIGHT OVER ALL BEINGS—AS HIS OWN WORKMANSHIP; so that by none of them can any thing possibly be done, which He plainly wishes to hinder. Which *points* being granted, it is easily gathered, that EVIL SPIRITS CAN NOT *possibly*

¹ Amongst the Pagans, in primitive times, there were 6 methods of torturing Christians, (on account of their religion) to death. Namely, by means of—

(1) The Cross. (2) The Rack. (3) The Wheel. (4) Fire. (5) Wild-beasts. (6) Beheading. Christians were also

(a) Condemned to the Mines—where they were chained, beaten, branded, had their right eye pulled out, their left foot maimed, etc.

(b) Scourged with Rods, having leaden plummets at the ends.

Other indignities and cruelties, (generally fatal) were endured, most patiently and joyfully, for the sake of Christ and His Gospel, by the holy “army of Martyrs.”

² “They know”: “*nōrunt*” (an abbreviation of “*noverunt*”) is the perfect tense of the defective verb “*novi*,” but it takes a PRESENT meaning.

HURT HIM, WHO HAS GOD—THE SUPREME, AND THE SUPREMELY GOOD—FAVOURING HIM; further than that God, for the sake of some good, may be willing to suffer to be done.

Nor, in truth, can anything be obtained, *by prayer*, from evil spirits, that ought not to be rejected. Because an evil *spirit*, when he pretends *to be* good, is then worst: and the gifts of enemies are snares.

§ IV.—AGAINST THE WORSHIP PAID IN PAGANISM, TO MEN *who have DEPARTED this LIFE.*

There both have been, and now also there are, Pagans, who say,—that “they pay worship to the souls of men *who have departed this life.*”

But, first *of all*, this worship also ought to be distinguished by visible tokens, from the worship of the Supreme God.

Then again, prayers to them *are* useless, unless something can be granted to us by those souls, on which *point* nothing is confirmed [*or*, certain] to the worshippers; nor is there any reason, why they should rather say that it is done, than *that it* is not done.

But the worst *thing of all* is, that those men to whom¹ they paid this honour, are found to have been notorious for great vices: *viz.*, A drunken Bacchus! A woman-loving Hercules! A Romulus impious towards his brother! A Jupiter *impious* towards *his* father; so that their honour (*or*, the honouring of them) redounds to the dishonour [*lit.*, disgrace] of the true God, and of the goodness *that is* pleasing to Him; while, to vices, sufficiently alluring of themselves, it adds a commendation from Religion!

§ V.—AGAINST THE WORSHIP PAID TO THE STARS, AND ELEMENTS.

More ancient than that [*see* § IV,] was the worshipping of the stars, and—what we call the elements—of fire, water, air, *and* earth; nor *was* the same [*worship*], indeed, free from great error. For, prayers are the greatest part of Religious worship; which cannot without folly (*lit.*, unless foolishly) be addressed except to intelligent beings. Now, that those *objects*, which we call the elements, are not such, is apparent in some measure from sense. With respect to the stars, if any one assert otherwise, he will have no *argument*, by which he can prove it; because no such thing can be gathered from the operations of the stars, which *operations* are the *only* indicators of beings [*or*, of *their* natures]; nay, the contrary is plainly enough gathered from *their* motion, which is not variable (*such* as is *the motion* of those *beings* which have a free will), but fixed, and appointed. But we have already shown elsewhere [§§ VII. and XI., Book I.], that “the courses of the stars are regulated for the use of men;” wherefore, man ought to acknowledge,

¹ “To whom.” In the Latin text, the relative pronoun (*quibus*) precedes the noun (*hominibus*) to which it refers; and the latter is put in the same case with the former—instead of being “*homines, quibus.*” In construing the original, “*hominibus*” becomes *redundant*.

that he, in his better part, is both more like and more dear to God, *than they are*; and, consequently that he wrongs (*lit.*, does an injury to) his own dignity, if he place himself below those things which God has given him; whereas, on the contrary, he ought to give thanks to God for them—which they are not able, or are not proved (*lit.*, are not taught) to be able, *to do* for themselves.

§ VI.—AGAINST THE WORSHIP OFFERED TO DUMB ANIMALS.

But the most disgraceful (*lit.*, unworthy) *thing of all is*, that men, especially the Egyptians, have descended to the worship even of beasts.—For, although in some *beasts* a certain shadow, as it were, of intellect shows itself; yet that very *shadow* is nothing, if it be considered in comparison with man; since they [*the beasts*] can neither describe (explain) *their* inward conceptions by distinct words and by writing, nor can they perform works of different kinds, nor works of the same kind in a different manner: much less can they attain to the knowledge of numbers, dimensions, [*i. e. of Geometry*], and the celestial revolutions [*i. e. of Astronomy*].

But, on the other hand, man, by the ingenuity of his nature, catches any animals, however powerful—"the wild beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea;"—he even partially brings them under his own rules—as *he does* the elephants, the lions, the horses,¹ the oxen. He derives advantages to himself from those which are the most noxious—as drugs from vipers. He, certainly makes this use of all *animals*—which they are ignorant of themselves—that he examines (scrutinises) the formation and situation of the parts of *their* bodies; and,—comparing as well the species [*the individual sorts*] as the genera [*the tribes*] thereof one with another,—here also he learns his own dignity (worth) *in the scale of being*, and how much more perfect and more noble the structure of the human body is, than others. Which things whoever rightly considers, he is so far from worshipping other living creatures as Gods, that he will rather think himself appointed a kind of God,² as it were, over them,—under the Supreme God.

§ VII.—AGAINST THE WORSHIP OFFERED TO THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT EXISTENCES (*lit.*, SUBSTANCES).

We read, that those things which have no existence (*lit.*, do not subsist), but are the *mere* accidents of other things, *were* adored by the Greeks, the Latins (the Romans), and others also. For,—not to mention (*lit.*, to omit) those horrible things [*which were the god-*

¹ "Horses," indeed, are at the present time (as is well known) tamed in a very gentle and extraordinary way, by the justly-celebrated Rarey. Other animals are subjugated by man, and are useful to him, as Grotius remarks.

² "A kind of God:" "Deum QUENDAM." The relative, "quidam" differs from "aliquis," by implying that a person or thing, although indefinitely described, is definitely known, and may be translated "a certain one." Occasionally, it may be used for "some," as opposed to "the whole," or to "others." Hence, "quidam" is employed as a LIMITATION, and translated "some kind of;" or (as above), "A KIND OF."

desses of the Pagans], viz., "Fever," "Impudence," and the like, let us name the better sort,—“Health” is nothing else but a right temperature of the parts of the body; “Good fortune,” the correspondence of an event with a man’s desire.—But the “Passions”—such as, “Love,” “Fear,” “Anger,” “Hope,” and the rest (*arising* from the consideration of a thing, either good or evil, easy or difficult), are certain emotions,—in that part of the mind, which (*part*) is most of all connected with the body by means of the blood: which (*emotions, or Passions*) are not independent¹ (or, of their own disposal), but are under the command of the “Will,” their mistress, as it were—at least, as far as concerns their duration and direction.

But the “Virtues,”—of which there are different names—viz., “Prudence” about the choice of the useful; “Fortitude” in undergoing dangers; “Justice” in abstaining from another’s property; “Temperance” in the moderation of pleasures, and other things besides—are certain inclinations towards “Rectitude,” grown up in the mind by long practice: which same [*inclinations*], as they may be increased, so may they be diminished by neglect—nay, even become extinct—in a man. But “Honour”—to which very object, also, we read of temples being dedicated—is the judgment of others upon any one, as endued with virtue; which judgment often happens even to the wicked, and does not always happen to the good, through the natural aptness of men to mistake (*lit.*, of mistaking).

These things therefore—inasmuch as they do not subsist, and, consequently, cannot be compared, in point of excellence, with the things that do subsist; and *inasmuch as* they have not any consciousness of the prayers and veneration offered to them—it is most foreign to right reason to worship as Gods; because, on their very account, He is to be worshipped, by Whom they can be bestowed and preserved.

§ VIII.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION OF THE PAGANS, TAKEN FROM THE MIRACLES *alleged* AMONGST THEM.

Miracles are wont to be alleged by the Pagans for the recommendation of their religion, but against which many *things* might be excepted. For, *they* who were the wisest among the Pagans themselves, reject many of them, as supported by no sufficient credibility of the witnesses, and *as* plainly counterfeited. Some which are called facts, happened in a secret place, *or* in the night, *or* in the presence of *only* one or two, upon whose eyes imposition might easily be practised by the false appearance of things, through the crafts of the priests. There are others, also, which only excited admiration at themselves among *those* ignorant of natural things—

¹ *Sui juris* [composes] non sunt: *LIT.*, “are not [possessed] of their own legal right,” i.e., “are not their own masters”—“are not independent.” A similar use is made of “compos,” in the phrase “non compos mentis,” which means, “not in full possession of the mind”—“not in (one’s) right mind.”

especially of occult properties ; *such* as what might happen, if any one should draw iron with a magnet before people ignorant of that effect—in which arts, it is related by many, that Simon *Magus* and Appollonius Tyanæus were skilled.

I can not deny, that some things, even greater than these, *were* seen, which could not possibly be produced from natural causes by human power alone ; but yet such as did not require a power truly Divine—that is, Omnipotent—because spirits, intermediate between God and man, were sufficient for these things, who, by their swiftness, strength, and subtilty, were easily able to transfer things far distant, and to compound things however diverse, for the purpose of *producing* such effects as would strike men with astonishment. But that the spirits, by whom this was effected, were not good—and, consequently, neither was their religion good—already appears from those things which we mentioned before, as well as from that consideration [*lit.*, from thence] also, *viz.*, because they declared that they were compelled, against *their* will, by certain charms ; whereas, however, it is agreed among the wisest of the Pagans, that no such force can possibly be contained [*lit.*, implanted] in words, but only *the force* of persuasion (*lit.*, of persuading)—and that according to *their* mode of signification (interpretation).

It is also an indication of their depravity, that they oftentimes undertook that they would entice this or that person, *though* resisting *them*, into the love of this or that *object*—*thus* doing injury to *mankind* by *their* delusive promise, or by performance of *their promise* ; whereas even human laws prohibit this as witchcraft.

Neither is there reason, why any one should wonder that the Supreme God should have suffered some miracles to be wrought *among the Gentiles* by evil spirits ; because *they*, who had long since revolted from the service of the true God, deserved to be deluded by such juggling-tricks.

But, at the same time, *it is* a proof of their impotence, that their works brought with them no extraordinary good. For, even if any seemed *to be* recalled to life, they continued not in life, nor exercised the functions of the living. BUT IF AT ANY TIME ANY THING, PROCEEDING FROM THE DIVINE POWER, APPEARED IN THE SIGHT OF THE PAGANS—YET IT WAS NOT PREDICTED THAT IT WOULD HAPPEN FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROVING THEIR RELIGION. Whence nothing hinders, but THE DIVINE POWER MIGHT HAVE HAD FAR DIFFERENT MOTIVES PROPOUNDED TO ITSELF. For instance, if it is true, that “sight was restored to a blind man by Vespasian,”—it was done in order that he (*Vespasian*), being more worthy of respect on that account, might the more easily obtain the Roman empire ; forasmuch as *he was* chosen by God as a minister of His judgments upon the Jews : and there might possibly exist similar causes of other wonders—which *wonders* might have nothing in common with Religion.

§ IX.—ALSO FROM *their* ORACLES.

Almost all the same *things* [*i. e.*, *remarks*] can also be applied, to solve that *argument* which they put forth against *us*, with regard to *their pretended* oracles—especially, what we have *lately* said, *viz.*, that those men deserved that a trick should be played upon them, *who* despised those means of information, which reason, or very ancient tradition, suggests to every one of *them*.

Moreover, the words of the *Pagan's* Oracles *were*, for the most part equivocal (ambiguous), and such as might easily admit of an interpretation from any event whatsoever. But if any thing *were* more expressly foretold by them, yet there is no necessity that it proceeded (*or*, it is not necessary that it *should* proceed) from an Omniscient Mind; inasmuch as either they were such as could be foreseen (*or*, perceived beforehand) from natural causes, then existing:—as some physicians have foretold future ¹ diseases;—or, they *could* with probability be conjectured from that *result* which generally happens; which *latter* we also read *was* often done by *men* skilled in civil matters.

But if, at any time (*or*, sometimes), God made use of the service (agency) of some diviners, even among the Pagans, to foretell such things as could have no certain cause (*lit.*, causes), except ² the Will of God—it tended not to confirm the Pagan religion, but rather to overthrow it: *Such* as are the things [*prophecies*], which are extant in *Virgilius* Maro, in *his* Fourth Eclogue, taken out of the verses of the Sibyl,³ in which *verses*, he—without knowing it—describes (depicts) the Advent of CHRIST, and the Benefits *thereof*, to us. So, in the same Sibylline *verses*, there was, *as follows*:—That “*He was* to be acknowledged as King, Who, verily, should be our King”—and that “*He was* about to come from the East, Who should be Lord of all things.”

The Oracle of Apollo is to be read in Porphyry, in which *Oracle* he says—That “other gods are aerial spirits, but that the One God of the Hebrews *is* to be worshipped:” which declaration if the worshippers of Apollo obey, then they cease to be such;—if they do not obey *it*, they accuse their own God of a lie! Now, add to *this*, that, if those spirits had meant, in their Oracles, to consult the good of (to provide for) mankind,—

[1] They would, above⁴ all *things*, have propounded to *mankind* a general Rule of life.⁵

[2] And they would have given to *them* positive assurance of a Recompense, which was awaiting *those* who lived accordingly (*lit.*, who so lived).⁶

¹ “Future diseases.” LIT., “diseases about to come.”

² LIT., “beyond.”

³ “The Sibyl” (Sibylla) was a woman, who pretended to be Divinely inspired. Varro reckons 10 of them: some say there were 7; others, that there were more, or fewer. The most considerable Sibyls were the Persian and Cumæan.

⁴ LIT., “before.”

⁵ LIT., “of living.”

⁶ For many ages before our Saviour appeared upon earth, and even at the time He did

Neither of which *two things* was ever done by them. On the contrary, kings however wicked *were* oftentimes applauded in their verses!—Divine honours *were* decreed *by them* to champions!—Men *were* enticed into embraces (*lit.*, attachments) *that were* even unlawful,—to pursue sinful gains,—to commit murders! *all* which may be shown by many instances.

§ X.—THE PAGAN RELIGION IS REJECTED BY REASON OF THIS—THAT IT FELL AWAY SPONTANEOUSLY, AS SOON AS HUMAN AID WAS [*lit.*, AIDS WERE] WANTING.

Moreover,—in addition to those things which have been alleged before—the PAGAN RELIGION AFFORDS US (supplies us with) a MIGHTY ARGUMENT AGAINST ITSELF, in THIS respect, *viz.*, THAT, WHEREVER IT WAS DEPRIVED (destitute) OF HUMAN FORCE, IT PLAINLY FELL *to the ground*;—the only *foundation*, on which it stood, having as it were been taken away. For, if you cast *your*¹ eyes around, throughout as many empires, as there are, of the Christians or Mahometans, you will see no mention² of Paganism, except in books. Nay, histories inform *us*, that—even in those times, when emperors either employed force and punishments, as *did* the former emperors, [*such as Nero, Domitian, etc.*]³ or learning and cunning, as *did* Julian, to uphold the Pagan religion—something departed from it daily; not through any force opposed to it; not through the splendour (illustriousness) of birth, (for JESUS was looked upon by the common people as “the carpenter’s⁴ Son;”) not through the flowery embellishment of literature, of which [*flowery embellishment*] the speech of *those who* taught the Law of Christ was devoid; not through bribes (for they were poor); not through any flattery, because, on the contrary, they declared that all advantages must be despised, *and that there was* no⁵ adversity but must be undergone for the sake of that Law.—See, how great must be the feebleness of Paganism, when it could be destroyed by such means (instruments), *as Christ’s Disciples were, or employed.*

And not only the credulity of the Pagans vanished at this Doctrine, but even the very [*unclean*] spirits went out of bodies.

appear, the whole Heathen world—yea, the most polite, the most civilized, and the most learned nations—were, with few exceptions, sunk in the most deplorable ignorance of God and Religion—were most superstitious, idolatrous, and corrupt. “The dark places of the earth were full of the habitations of cruelty,” as well as of licentiousness. But praised be God for the GOSPEL, which reveals to us the knowledge of a Tri-une God, and of salvation by Jesus. Without that Revelation, we should have walked on still in darkness and ignorance. Moreover, “Our Saviour . . . hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.”

¹ I. e. “If a man cast (his)” etc. Grotius here (like the Romans) uses, indefinitely, the 2nd. for our 3rd. person singular.

² “Memoriam.” LIT., “memory.” It may also be rendered “memorial, or “tradition.”

³ Trajan, a Roman emperor, is said to have been the first emperor, who sanctioned the persecution of Christians BY LAW; and Pliny, the first magistrate, who put the law in force; And yet both these men were, by the Pagans, considered amiable, and just!

⁴ Matthew xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3. ⁵ “Nihil non adversi . . . subeundum,” may also be translated, “every [kind] of adversity must be undergone.” The two negatives “nihil non” (LIT., “not nothing”) have the force of an affirmative, and may be rendered “every,” or “every thing.”

at the Name of CHRIST; held *their* tongue (*lit.*, voice); and, being interrogated respecting the cause of *their* silence, were forced to say that they could *do* nothing where CHRIST was invoked.

§ XI.—AN ANSWER TO THIS, *viz.*, THAT THE ORIGIN AND UTTER DECAY OF RELIGION IS TO BE ASCRIBED TO THE OPERATION OF THE STARS.

There have been Philosophers, who, as they ascribed the origin, in like manner *ascribed* the utter decay of every Religion to the stars. But the very planetary science, which those *men* profess that they understand, is delivered under rules so different, that nothing certain can be found in it, except this very *thing*, *viz.*, that there is nothing certain (*lit.*, nothing of certainty) *in it*.

I am not speaking of those effects which follow from a natural necessity of causes, but of those which proceed from the human will, which is, in its own nature, so free, that no necessity can be impressed upon it from without. But if the act of the will necessarily followed from such [*outward*] impression, then the power which *we* ourselves feel, in the soul, of deliberating and choosing, would be given *us* to no purpose; and the equity of all laws, and *that* of rewards and punishments, would be taken away; because there can neither be blame nor merit in that which is plainly irresistible (unavoidable).

Moreover, since some actions of the will are evil: If they proceed from the sky by a certain necessity,—therefore, (because God has assigned such a power to the sky) it will then follow, that God (Who is most perfectly Good) is the true Cause of moral evil!¹ and that (although in *His* positive Law, He professes that He abhors wickedness, the efficient and irresistible power of which He has implanted in the very things) He wills two things, which are contrary to each other, *viz.*, that same thing should be done, and should not be done! and that sin is committed in that, which any one would do by Divine impulse!

A more probable thing is asserted by others, *viz.*, that “first, the air,—and, afterwards, our bodies are affected by the influences of the stars; and *that they thence* imbibe certain qualities, which, for the most part, excite in the mind² desires corresponding to them; and that by these [*desires*] the will is enticed, and oftentimes complies with them.” But—granted *this is* so—it makes nothing to the question, which we have begun to discuss (handle). For, the Religion of CHRIST—seeing that, even in the highest degree, it draws men off from those things which please the body—could not

¹ Even Plato, very properly, denied this, in his “Republic,” wherein he declared that “the CAUSE OF MORAL EVIL ORIGINATES IN THE VOLUNTARY act: NO BLAME IS IMPUTABLE TO GOD.”—(Grotius.)

² They argue most truly, who deny these effects of the atmosphere, and of the stars and other heavenly bodies; their sole properties being heat, light, and gravity,—which cannot influence the human mind in the sense here intended.—(Le Clerc.)

possibly have *its* origin from the affections of the body; and consequently not, from the power of the planets, which—as we have said—do not act upon the mind, except through the medium of those affections. The sagest of the astrologers exempt truly wise and good *men* from the laws of the planets: But such *men* were they, in very deed, who first embraced the Christian Religion,—as their life proves. But, if we likewise allow some power to knowledge and literature, against the infection of the body,—there have always been, even amongst Christians, *some*, who were (might be) in high repute,¹ [or, might gain applause] on this *account*.

Moreover, the effects of the planets—as the most learned confess—respect [belong to] certain quarters (climates) of the world, and are *only* temporary; but this Religion continues now, through *a period* of a thousand six hundred years,²—not in one *part merely*, but in very distant parts of the world—and such as are under a far different position of the planets.

§ XII.—*Here* IS SHOWN, THAT THE MAIN *points* OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION WERE APPROVED BY THE WISE OF THE PAGANS: AND IF THERE IS ANY THING IN IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE [or, TO BE BELIEVED], *it is shown*, THAT EQUAL *difficulties* ARE TO BE FOUND AMONGST THE PAGANS.

But the Pagans have so much the less reason, why they should³ impugn the Christian Religion, *viz.*, because the several parts of it are of such excellence, that they convince *men's* minds by their own light, (lustre), as it were. So that there have not been wanting, AMONGST THE PAGANS, *those* who have MENTIONED ONE BY ONE (separately) WHAT OUR RELIGION HOLDS ALL TOGETHER (collectively): inasmuch as *they affirmed*, “that Religion is not placed in rites, but in the soul;—that even *he*, who wished to commit adultery, is an adulterer;—that an injury *is* not to be returned;—that *but* one wife *is* to be joined *in marriage* to one husband;—that the covenant of matrimony ought to be perpetual;—that the duty of man is to do good to every man, especially to the needy;—that *we* must abstain from an oath, as much as possible [*lit.*, can possibly be done];—that in point of food and raiment, we ought to be content with *things* requisite for nature.”

But, if there is any thing in the Christian Religion difficult to believe [to be believed], equal *difficulties* are to be found amongst

¹ “Who were in high repute;” “laude florent.” The latin words are a phrase, which cannot well be translated literally—“*Gratiâ florere*,” “*auctoritate florere*,” “*gloriâ florere*,” are similar phrases with “laude florere;” which last expression literally signifies—“to flourish” (or “to be flourishing”) “in applause.” Hence, “to be in request,”—“to be in high esteem.”

² The CHRISTIAN Religion has now existed for 1800 years, and upwards—notwithstanding the fierce opposition of Satan and ungodly men.

³ Or, “the less reason, to:” “*eo minus, quo.*”—DEGREES of difference between objects compared, are denoted by the ablative case; and RELATIVE difference, by neuter adjectives of quantity (as, “minus”), and by pronouns (as, “*eo—quo*”) in the singular number.

the wisest of the Pagans ; which thing we have before shown, [see Bk. I. § XXII ; and Bk. II. § VII.], with respect to the "Immortality of souls," and the "Return of *human* bodies to life."—Thus Plato, taught by the Chaldæans, distinguishes THE DIVINE NATURE (THE DIVINE BEING)—

[1] Into THE FATHER ;

[2] Into THE MIND OF THE FATHER, (Which *Mind* he also calls THE BRANCH [or, THE GERM] OF GOD, the Maker [*lit.*, Artificer] of the world.

[3] Into THE SPIRIT [or, THE SOUL], by Which all things are kept together.

Julian¹—*though* so great an enemy of the Christians—believed, that "THE DIVINE COULD BE JOINED WITH THE HUMAN² NATURE"; and he gave an instance in Æsculapius,³ whom he thought came from heaven to deliver the art of medicine (*lit.*, of healing) to men. THE CROSS OF CHRIST IS A STUMBLING-BLOCK TO (*lit.*, OFFENDS) MANY :—But what *things* do not Pagan authors narrate concerning *their* gods?—That "some of *them* were the slaves of kings!—

¹ Julian was a Roman emperor, and the nephew of Constantine. Although Julian became an apostate from the faith of Christ, he, in an epistle, written to Arsacius, a heathen priest (A. D. 361), held up "Christians as worthy of imitation by the Pagans, both for the holiness of their lives, and their love to strangers and enemies."

"See, how these Christians love one another!" This testimony, in proof of the close bond of union which existed in the early Christian Church, would be satisfactory from whatever quarter it came: But it is rendered doubly so, as it is the testimony—not of a friend but of—a crafty and bitter enemy,—and THAT enemy the Apostate Julian. This individual was ever in extremes. Professing, at one time, the Christian Religion—he was a pattern of piety. At the close of life—he was cruel, ambitious, hypocritical, and steeped in crime. He who, under difficulties, and during anxious years of impending danger, had given promise of being a benefactor to mankind, no sooner found himself on the imperial throne, than he threw off the mask of hypocrisy, under which he had long and successfully concealed his real character; and exultingly proclaimed himself an Apostate and a Heathen! Thenceforth Christians were the objects of his scorn, hatred, and cruelty. Directing against them, with the subtlest art, his great and varied talents, he cloaked his cruelty under the specious pretext of encouraging consistency. He deprived the Churches of their means of support, and with assumed gravity assured the victims of his spoliation, that his object was, to give them the opportunity of practising that disregard of worldly riches, which their religion taught them to possess. And when he saw successive instances of the warmest attachment to one another, under their persecutions and trials, he would praise their noble spirit, would urge the heathen around him to imitate their unanimity: and with the mockery of admiration and approbation, would point his exhortation with the cruel sneer and taunt—"See, how these CHRISTIANS love one another!"

Vain were his ardent anticipations of FUTURE overthrow to the Church of Christ. His long-cherished hope of returning, after an arduous and successful warfare, and then, with overwhelming force, extirpating Christianity, was frustrated by an early death. For he died at the age of 32, A. D. 363, having been fatally wounded by a javelin in a conflict with the Persians on the banks of the Tigris. ("Dr. James' Comment on the Collects," p. p. 478, 479.)

² Julian, in Book VI. of his works, considers "Jupiter as having generated Æsculapius from himself, and as having caused his visible appearance on the earth, through the genial heat, or vivifying power of the sun: This being, having proceeded out of heaven and descended to earth, appeared in a singular character at Epidaurus," etc. etc.—That the Pagans believed, that "the Gods could assume the HUMAN form," we gather from Acts xiv. 11—13.

³ Æsculapius (according to Pagan mythology) was the son of Apollo and the nymph Coronis, and the god of medicine; which art he was taught by Chiron. He restored many to life, at which Pluto complained to Jupiter, who struck Æsculapius with thunder. Æsculapius received Divine honours after death, chiefly at Epidaurus, Pergamos, Athens, Smyrna, etc.

that others were struck by thunderbolts!—*or*, cut in pieces!—*or*, wounded!” And, in truth, the wisest of them affirmed, that “Virtue, as often as it costs *one’s* self much,¹ is more delightful.”

Plato²—in *his* Second Book, “On the Commonwealth,”—says—as it were prophetically (*lit.*, foreknowing),—that,—“in order to be exhibited *as* truly just—it is necessary *for a man* that his Virtue be stripped (divested) of all ornaments, so that he may be accounted by others as a malefactor;—be scoffed at;—*and*, at last, hanged.”³—And, certainly, to be a pattern of the greatest patience,⁴ could not possibly be obtained on other terms [*lit.*, otherwise].

¹ “Costs (one’s) self much:” “magno [pretio] sibi constat.” *LIT.*, “stands themselves,” or, “itself, in a great [price].”

² Plato (an Athenian Philosopher—the most learned and eloquent of the Greeks—the Founder of the Sect called “Platonists,” or “Platonics”) was born A. M. 3823. His tenets were—

- I. That there is ONE SUPREME GOD; but besides Him there are TWO SORTS OF GODS—to whom sacrifice ought to be offered—DEMONS [Spirits] and HEROES.
- II. That there is an IDEA which he called a FIFTH CAUSE.
- III. That the world had a beginning.
- IV. That the end of Philosophy is to be made like God.
- V. That there is a pre-existence of souls.
- VI. That knowledge is only remembrance: (viz., of what our souls knew in their state of pre-existence).
- VII. That an injury is not to be returned.
- VIII. That God is not to be prayed to.
- IX. That images are to be dedicated to the Gods.”—(Rev. Wm. Turner’s “History of all Religions.” A. D. 1695.)

³ How strikingly does this description (of a man persecuted and put to death, on account of his righteousness), although given by a Heathen, apply to the God-Man, our blessed Redeemer! HE WAS, pre-eminently, THAT “JUST ONE”—being “without sin”—but Who, nevertheless, was mocked, buffeted, despised, and rejected of men—“numbered with the transgressors” (Isaiah liii. 12)—called “a MALEFACTOR” (John xviii. 30):—“Whom they” (i. e. unbelieving Jews and Gentiles) “slew and HANGED ON A TREE.” Who was, however, not only “A PATTERN”—the greatest and best the human race ever beheld—both of “Patience” under persecutions and of Holy life, but also an all-sufficient (and the only) Sacrifice and Atonement to God for sin—even the sin of the whole world. And, be it remembered, all He did and suffered, was of His own free-will and love and pity to the souls of mankind—yea, of His very enemies! His death, however, must never be regarded merely as that of A MARTYR, but as that of OUR ONLY SAVIOUR—as that of One Who was GOD AS WELL AS MAN—as that of One, Whose “blood speaketh better things than” that “of Abel,”—the proto-martyr, under the Old Testament dispensation—as that of One, “without shedding of” Whose “blood” there “is no remission” of sins.

⁴ The passage of Plato translated out of the Greek (in Book II. of his “Republic”) is to this effect:—“He shall be scourged, tortured, bound, blinded with hot iron; and, after having endured every kind of misery, he shall terminate his sufferings by CRUCIFIXION.” Seneca also speaks of “the VIRTUOUS man,” thus:—“Although he may endure tortures from head to foot—though the lighted torch be thrust into his mouth—though HIS HANDS BE EXTENDED ON A CROSS—he considers not WHAT his sufferings may be, but HOW to bear them WELL.”

BOOK V.

§ I.—A REFUTATION OF JUDAISM, COMMENCING WITH AN ADDRESS TO THE JEWS.

As it is *but* a middle *phase*—between light and darkness—which gradually develops itself, to *those who are* emerging from a dark cave:—Such does Judaism present itself, to us *when* stepping¹ out of the thick mist of Paganism,—*as the twilight of Gospel-day,—as only* a part and the beginning of the Truth.—Wherefore, I bespeak (call upon) the Jews not to hear us with aversion.²

It is well known to us, that they are the offspring of holy men—whom God was wont to visit, both by *His* Prophets, and by His Angels;—that the Messiah *was* born of the same nation—and that the primitive Teachers of Christianity *were also born of that nation*; that it is the stock (tree) of themselves, on which we are grafted;—that they are the keepers of God's Oracles, which we revere not less than they themselves; and, with Paul, we send forth sighs to God for them, praying that that day may very soon come, when, “the veil which hangs over their face, being taken off,” they shall, with us, clearly see “the fulfilling of the Law,” and when, (as the prophecies of the ancients have *it*) “any one of us, who are strangers, shall lay hold of the cloak of the man *who is* an Hebrew, desiring that we may, with united (equal) piety, worship that ONLY God,—the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.”

§ II.—*Here* IS SHOWN, THAT THE JEWS OUGHT TO ACCOUNT (LOOK UPON) THE MIRACLES OF JESUS AS SUFFICIENTLY PROVED (ATTESTED).

First of *all*, then, they are requested not to think *that to be* unreasonable (unjust) in another man's case, which they deem reasonable (just) in their own! If any Pagan should inquire of them, ‘why they believe that miracles *were* done by Moses?’ They can say nothing else, but that a “report of that matter has been so perpetual and constant, that it could not arise, except from the testimony of those *persons* who had seen *them*.”

Thus:—That ‘the oil *was* increased, in the presence of (in the house of) the widow, by *the Prophet Elisha*,’—that ‘*Naaman*, the Syrian *was* suddenly cleansed from a foul leprosy,’—that ‘the son of the hostess of *Elisha was* recalled to life,’—and other like things,—the Jews believe;—for no other reason, indeed, than because witnesses of good character have transmitted that tradition to posterity. But, concerning Elias's (Elijah's) being taking up into heaven, they give credit to⁴ the testimony of Elisha alone, as *to*

¹ “Stepping:” “gradum moventibus.” A phrase, literally signifying “moving a step.” ² Or, “as” [persons] “averse” [to us].

³ “Any one:” LIT., “whosoever it pleases.”

⁴ LIT., “have faith in.”

that of a man beyond (*lit.*, greater than) all exception. Howbeit, concerning Christ's ascension into heaven, we produce 12 witnesses, of unblameable life : Concerning Christ having been seen upon earth, after *His* death,—far more *witnesses*.—If these things¹ are true, the Dogma also of Christ must needs be true ; and, plainly, nothing can be alleged by the Jews for themselves, which may not, with equal, or better, right, be applied to us also. But, not to mention (to omit) testimonies,—it is the confession of the Talmudists and Jews themselves, that miraculous things *were* done by Christ ; which very *fact* ought to suffice. For, God cannot more effectually procure authority to a Dogma promulgated by man, than by performing miracles.

§ III.—*Here is solved, what they object, viz., that these Miracles were done by the help of Demons (Devils).*

Howbeit, some have said, that wonders (miracles) *were* done by Him, with the help of demons. But this calumny has been already refuted before [Bk II., § VI] by this Doctrine, *viz.*, that where the Doctrine (Dogma) of Christ became known, all the power of the demons was broken.—*As for that*, which some add, *viz.*, that Jesus had learned magical arts in Egypt,—it has much less the appearance of truth, than the like accusation of the Pagans against Moses, which we see in Pliny and Apuleius.

For, it does not appear, that Jesus ever was in Egypt, except from the Books of *His* disciples, who add, that He returned thence, *while He was yet an Infant*. Howbeit, it is certain, that Moses spent a great portion of *his* time, *when he was grown up*, in Egypt, both by his own account, and *by that* of others. But the Law of both (*i. e.*, of *Jesus and Moses*) strongly exculpates both Moses and Jesus from this crime,—the Law, *of either*, expressly forbidding such arts, as “abominable to God.”—Then, again, if, in the time of Christ and His disciples, there had ever been, either in Egypt or elsewhere, any magical art, whereby those things could be done, which are related of Christ, (*viz.*, *whereby* all dumb persons *could* be suddenly cured, the power to walk be given to the lame, sight to the blind),—the emperors, Tiberius², Nero³, and others, who spared no expenses for the purpose of investigating such things, would undoubtedly have discovered it (*i. e.*, *the magical art*).

And if it is true, which the Jews report, that the Senators of the great Sanhedrim were skilled in magical arts, in order that they might be able to convict the *persons guilty of that crime*, surely,—since the same *Senators* were most inimical to Jesus, and envious of His honour, which *honour* was increasing, chiefly by means of His

¹ *LIT.*, “which things if.” “*Quæ*” is used as a demonstrative.

² Tiberius (Claudius Nero Cæsar) was one of the emperors of Rome : He died A. D. 37.

³ Nero was also a Roman emperor (who is called both Augustus and Cæsar) to whom St. Paul appealed. (Acts xxv. 21). He was exceedingly cruel. He died A. D. 68, by his own hand, in the 37th year of his age.

miracles,—they themselves would either have done the like works by the same *magical* art, or they would have made *it* patent by sure arguments, that His works resulted not from any thing else.

§ IV.—OR, BY THE POWER OF WORDS.

But, for as much as some of the Jews ascribe the wonders (miracles) of Jesus, to a certain secret name—which *name* (*they say*), having been placed in the temple by Solomon, two lions guarded for a thousand years and more, and which *name* was secretly conveyed away by Jesus!—*the story* is not only falsely, but also impudently, invented. Because neither the Books of the Kings, nor the Chronicles, nor Josephus, relate any thing concerning those lions—*concerning, that is*, a most remarkable, and wonderful circumstance :—howbeit, neither could the Romans, who entered that temple with Pompey,¹ before the time of Christ, find out any such *name*.

§ V.—*Here is shown, that the Miracles of Jesus were Divine, because He taught the Worship of One God, Who is the Maker (Artificer) of the World.*

But *it* being granted, that miracles (wonders) were wrought by Christ, as the Jews acknowledge, we affirm, that it follows, from the very Law of Moses, that credit is to be given to Him. For God has said (Deuteronomy XVIII.), it (*would*) come to pass², that, after Moses, other Prophets also should be raised up by God, and to them obedience was to be paid by the people; (*God*) denouncing heavy punishments, unless that were done.

Now, the surest signs of the Prophets are miracles.—Nor, forsooth, can any *signs* more famous (more glorious) be imagined *than miracles are*. At Deut. XIII. it is said, “If any one, representing himself to be a prophet, have wrought wonders, CREDENCE IS NOT TO BE GIVEN TO HIM, IF HE ENTICE THE PEOPLE TO THE WORSHIP OF NEW GODS.” For, *it declares*, those miracles (wonders) are permitted by God to be done, in this *case* only, *viz.*, in order to

¹ “Pompey.” About 63 years before the birth of Christ, the rapid and extensive progress of Pompey’s arms in Asia was interrupted by Aristobulus, who had assumed the title of king, and who had usurped the priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus, and who had refused to obey the summons which Pompey had sent to him. Aristobulus converted the Temple into a garrison; but, “after a three months’ siege by Pompey, the city [of Jerusalem] was carried by assault on a Sabbath, when the Jews abstained from defending it [and 1200 of the Jewish people were slain]. The Roman general (Pompey) entered the Temple, and with surprise surveyed the blank recess, gloriously singular among the shrines of the nations, in having no visible divinity. [And though he went with eager curiosity into the Holy of Holies, yet] to his honour he forbade all open violation of its sacred vessels and [any of its vast] treasures. But from the time he profaned the holy precincts by his intrusion, the Jews remark that he never prospered.” (From the “Family Treasury of Sabbath reading.” p. 217).

² “It [would] come to pass,” etc. “Futurum [esset], ut . . . excitarentur,” In the passive voice, the participle ending in *utus* is not to be used, but “futurum sit,” or “futurum esset,” with “ut,” as at the commencement of this note. A similar example may be given. “Non dubitabam, quin futurum esset, ut laudaretur : I did not doubt, but that it would (LIT., “it was about to”) happen, that he would” (or “will”) “be praised.”

prove whether [*His*] people be sufficiently steadfast in the worship of the true God. From which passages, compared with each other, the Hebrew Interpreters rightly gather, that "credence is to be given by every one, to him whoever doeth miracles, except when he is drawing away *any* from the worship of the true God; because in such case alone, it is foretold, that credit must not be given to the miracles, however specious *they may be*." Now, Jesus not only taught that false gods are not to be worshipped, but, on the contrary expressly forbad this, as a most grievous crime, and taught us that the writings both of Moses, and the Prophets, who followed him, are to be revered.—Wherefore, there is nothing that can possibly be objected against His miracles.

§ VI.—A SOLUTION OF THE OBJECTION, TAKEN FROM THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LAW OF MOSES AND THE LAW OF JESUS: WHERE IS SHOWN, THAT ANOTHER, MORE PERFECT THAN THE LAW OF MOSES, MIGHT POSSIBLY BE GIVEN.

For, *as to that*, which some object, *viz.*, that "the Law of Jesus differs in some part (respects) from the Law of Moses,"—that *argument* is not sufficient. For the Doctors themselves, of the Hebrews, lay down this rule, *viz.*, "That, at the command of a Prophet,—that is, of *one who* does miracles,—any precept whatsoever may fearlessly be violated, that *precept* of the worship of ONE God, excepted."¹ And, surely, the power of making Laws, which was in the possession of God, when He gave precepts by Moses, departed not from Him afterwards: nor is any man, who has given laws, in his own right, thereby hindered to give (*i. e.*, from giving) others, even contrary (repugnant) to them.

As to that, which they object, that God is Unchangeable—that is nothing to the point; for, it is not treated of *by us*, (*i. e.*, we are not treating) concerning the Intrinsic Nature, but concerning the works, of God. Light is changed by darkness, youth by old age, summer by winter,—all which are the works of God.—Formerly, God allowed to Adam the other apples, *but* strictly forbade *him* the fruit of one tree,²—namely, because it so pleased *Him*. He prohibited men, in general, to kill *others*: yet He commanded Abraham to slay *his* son.³ One while,⁴ He forbad victims to be offered in sacrifice, apart from the tabernacle,—another while,⁵ He accepted them. Neither does it follow, although the Law, given by Moses, was good,—that no better Law could be given. Parents are wont to lisp with infants, to wink at the faults of *their childish* age, to entice them to learn with a little cake. But when *their childish* age has advanced, *their* speech is corrected; the precepts of virtue are instilled into them; what is the beauty of integrity is shown to them by the parents, and what are the rewards of it are also shown.

¹ Or, "excepting that of the worship of ONE God." ² Gen. ii. 17. ³ Gen. xxii. 2.

⁴ Or, "He forbade some victims," etc.

⁵ Or, "He accepted others."

Now, that the precepts of that *Mosaic* Law were not absolutely perfect, is clear, even from this *fact*, *viz.*, that many holy men of those times pursued a life more excellent than those precepts. Moses, who permits the revenge of grief (pain) to be exacted, partly by *one's own* hand (*or*, by force), partly by a judicial sentence, *when* harassed himself with most cruel injuries, made himself an intercessor for *his* enemies. So David wishes to spare *his* rebellious son *Absalom*, and patiently bears the curses of Shimei cast upon himself. Good men are nowhere found² to have divorced *their* wives, although, however, the Law permitted it. Doubtless, laws are adapted to the major part of a people:³ therefore, in that case⁴ it was meet, that some things should be winked at,—*which were* to be reduced to a more perfect rule at that time, when God, by a greater power of *His* Spirit, shall gather, to Himself, a new people out of all nations. Yea, the Rewards openly proffered (proposed) by the Law of Moses, all respect (belong to) this mortal life: whence it must be confessed, that some Law better than this Law⁵ might possibly be given, which did proffer (propose) ETERNAL Rewards, not under shadows,⁶ but openly: as we see *is* done BY THE LAW OF CHRIST.

§ VII.—THAT THE LAW OF MOSES *was* OBSERVED BY JESUS ON EARTH; NOR *were its* PRECEPTS AFTERWARDS ABOLISHED, EXCEPT THOSE WHICH DID NOT POSSESS INTRINSIC GOODNESS.

Here, by the way, *it is* to be observed,—to evince the iniquity of the Jews, who were contemporary with Jesus,—that Jesus *was* very basely (very badly) treated by them, and delivered up to punishment, when no transgression of His against the Law could be alleged! He was circumcised⁷—He made use of Jewish⁸ meats, and similar dress to that of the Jews;⁹—*those, who were* cleansed from leprosy, He sent to the Priests;¹⁰—He religiously observed the Passovers,¹¹ and other Festival (Feast) days.—If He healed any on the Sabbath, He showed, not only from the *Mosaic* Law,¹² but also from *their* received opinions,¹³ that such works were not interdicted on the Sabbath.

But *it was only* THEN, HE FIRST BEGAN TO PUBLISH THE ABROGATION¹⁴ OF SOME OF THE LAWS, WHEN—“*after His* HAVING COMPLETELY VANQUISHED DEATH, *He was* CARRIED UP INTO HEAVEN—

¹ Or, “would have spared” (LIT., “is willing to be spared”) [his] rebellious son [Absalom].” ² “Are nowhere found:” LIT., “are nowhere to be read of.”

³ Or, “the [Jewish] laws are accommodated to the majority of the [Jewish] people.” Grotius, in his note on this passage, observes, that “Origen, against Celsus, Book III., speaks of a certain lawyer—who was asked, ‘Whether he had framed the VERY BEST CODE OF LAWS, that he could devise, for the community?’ His reply was—Not absolutely the very best, but THE BEST THAT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD ALLOW him.”

⁴ Or, “in their condition.”

⁵ Hebrews vii. 19, 22.; viii. 6.; 2 Timothy i. 10.

⁶ “Shadows;” i. e. “typical representations.”

⁷ Luke ii. 21.

⁸ Gal. iv. 4, 5.

⁹ Matthew ix. 20.

¹⁰ Matthew viii. 4.; Mark i. 44.; Luke v. 14.

¹¹ Luke ii. 41.; John ii. 13, 23.; xi. 55.; xii. 1.; John vii. 2.

¹² Matthew xii. 5.

¹³ Matthew xii. 11.

¹⁴ Acts x.; Colossians ii. 14.

He had also endowed His Disciples, *whom He had left upon earth*, with the remarkable [*lit.*, the conspicuous] gifts of the Holy Spirit; and, by those things, had shown, that He had obtained a Kingly power—in which power is included the right [prerogative] of legislating [*lit.*, the authority for (*lit.*, of) making a law]; and this, *too*, according to the prophecy of Daniel¹ (by a comparison of² chapter III.³ and VII.⁴ [*lit.*, in chapter III. and VII. compared together]; also chapter VIII. and XI.) who had foretold, that—shortly after the destruction of the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt⁵ (the latter of which *events* happened under [*i. e.*, in the reign of] Augustus⁶) God would give⁷ to a Man,—

¹ Daniel was of the royal family of Judah, and was, in his early life, carried captive to Babylon, about 606 B.C., by Nebuchadnezzar, the king thereof, but was, with other captive Jews, restored to liberty and country, by Cyrus king of Persia, about 536 B.C., when he (Daniel) was more than 90 years old. While in Babylon, he soon became renowned for wisdom, and was advanced to great authority, under Nebuchadnezzar: and he seems to have continued in an exalted station, and in offices of great trust and power, through all the subsequent period of the Chaldean monarchy; and, afterwards, under Darius, the Mede, and Cyrus, the Persian.—Our Lord called him “Daniel, THE PROPHET,” with a special recommendation of his predictions—even the most difficult of them—to the attention of His Disciples.—SOME PARTS OF THESE PREDICTIONS HAVE BEEN SO EXACTLY FULFILLED, that Porphyry, a bitter enemy of Christians, took occasion from this circumstance, to maintain that they were written after the events!

Daniel wrote part of his prophecies in Hebrew, and part in Chaldee; for which, this reason (says Bishop Lowth) may be assigned,—that those parts of it, in which the Babylonian empire was concerned, were writ in their language—viz., from ii. 4, to the end of chapter vii.; a great part of which was probably entered into their “public registers.”—From the consideration, that this eminently pious, and greatly beloved, servant of God, was, to extreme old age (and probably till his death), a minister of state in a HEATHEN court, we learn that faith and piety are not confined to any place or station of life, and that God’s grace is all sufficient to preserve those who trust in the Lord.

² “By a comparison of.” The participle perfect passive, “comparato,” may here be used as a substantive expressing the action of the verb.

³ Chapter III. can hardly be called PROPHETICAL, but rather, HISTORICAL. Grotius, however, may possibly allude to that portion of it, containing the exclamations of Nebuchadnezzar, respecting ONE (generally supposed to be the Angel of the Covenant—the Lord Jesus Christ), who appeared in the midst of the burning fiery furnace, and preserved the three Hebrew youths therein, from all hurt, and Who seemed,—to that idolatrous king,—as “A MAN,” and yet “LIKE THE SON OF GOD.” But the Author of this Literal Translation is inclined to think, that the reference to Chapter III., is a misprint for “Chapter II.”

⁴ “Chapter VII.” in this place, is the reading of some, and “Chapter VIII.,” is that of other, versions of Grotius’s work,

⁵ “Syria and Egypt.” In Daniel xi. “the king of Syria,” is denoted by the words—“THE KING OF THE NORTH;” and “the king of Egypt,” by “the KING OF THE SOUTH.” These two are alone mentioned here,—because they alone were concerned with the Jews. In the time of Augustus Cæsar, these two kingdoms were merged in the ROMAN empire.

⁶ “Augustus,” i. e. “Augustus Cæsar,” or “Cæsar Augustus,” the 2nd emperor of Rome, (mentioned in Luke ii. 1.), the grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar, whom he succeeded on the throne. He took the name “Augustus,” i. e. “August,” or “Honorable,” as a compliment to his own greatness; and from him the month “August” (which before was called “Sextilis”) derived its appellation—in the like way the month “July” took its name from the prænomens of “Julius Cæsar” (having previously been termed “Quintilis,” i. e. the 5th month from March, which was originally the 1st month with the Romans.)

⁷ “Who had foretold, that God would give:” “qui prædixerat, fore, ut, Deus regnum daturus esset,” etc. LIT. “Who had foretold, that it would” (or, “will”) “come to pass, that God was going to” (or, “about”) “to give the kingdom,” etc.

Here “fore” seems to be a contraction of “fuere;” and it is sometimes used as a PRESENT, and sometimes as a FUTURE, INFINITIVE. In this place, it has a FUTURE

WHO SHOULD [might] SEEM *but* AN ORDINARY Person¹ [*lit.*, a plebeian],—A KINGDOM, OVER NATIONS OF EVERY REGION AND LANGUAGE, AND, INDEED, *that* SHALL NEVER END.” [*The words, to which Grotius refers, are in Daniel vii. 13, 14 :—*“ I saw in the night visions, and, behold, *One*, like THE SON OF MAN, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought Him near before Him. And THERE WAS GIVEN HIM DOMINION, AND GLORY, AND A KINGDOM, THAT ALL PEOPLE, NATIONS, AND LANGUAGES SHOULD SERVE HIM : HIS DOMINION *is* AN EVERLASTING DOMINION, WHICH SHALL NOT PASS AWAY,—AND HIS KINGDOM *that* WHICH SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED.”

Before the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, there were 4 monarchies in the world, each succeeding one being more famous than those which preceded it, viz., (1) the Babylonian (or Assyrian);—(2) the Medo-Persian;—(3) the Græcian;—and (4) the Roman. It was predicted, that the Messiah should come when the “FOURTH MONARCHY” (the Roman) was in its height—just when it was become, more than any of the three before it, an “UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.” He was consequently born in the days of Augustus Cæsar, when the Roman empire extended itself farther than either before or since, including Parthia one way and Britain another way; so that it was then called “Terrarum orbis imperium”—“The empire of the whole earth; and in Luke ii. 1, that empire is called “all the world,” for there was scarcely any part of the civilized world but was dependent on it. Now this was the time, when Jesus Christ was to be born, according to Daniel’s prophecy (Daniel ii. 44), “IN THE DAYS OF THESE KINGS”—the kings of the Roman monarchy—“SHALL THE GOD OF HEAVEN SET UP A KINGDOM WHICH SHALL NEVER BE DESTROYED.”

The “kingdom” implied in the above-cited passages of the Prophet, is the “FIFTH KINGDOM,” viz., that of Jesus Christ; which passages form a portion of the prophet’s interpretation of the dream of the then king of Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar) who saw an “Image”—compounded of “gold, silver, brass, iron, clay—broken to pieces by a Stone cut out of a mountain without hands.” This “image” was a figurative representation of what,—years subsequently—actually occurred,—in respect to the kingdom of Babylon, etc., and of what will take place “in the last days.”

In order fully to understand Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, we must

signification, equivalent to “*futurum esse*.” The participle, ending in “*rus*” or “*rum*,” with the proper tense of the verb “*esse*,” has a potential force, which does not belong to the perfect tense, or to the perfect infinitive, of the simple verb: Hence, the construction of “*ut . . . Deus daturus esset (fuisset)*,”—not “*dedisset* ;” Or, “*daturum esse (fuisset)*,”—not “*dedisse* ;” in literal English—“that God was (or, “*had been*”) “about to give.”

¹ “An ordinary (Person)—a kingdom.” From the term ‘Son of Man,’ the Hebrews infer a sense of meanness, or comparative insignificance. And so the Prophets are called, in comparison with angels. Our Blessed Redeemer used the same expression of Himself :—When the SON OF MAN shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall HE SIT UPON THE THRONE OF HIS GLORY. (Matthew xxv. 31.)

compare it with Daniel's vision, which occurred nearly 50 years after the former. The first part of the latter is in Dan. vii. 1—8.

"The head of fine gold," endured for 70 years, from the overthrow of Nineveh by the confederate Babylonians and Medes, B.C. 606, to the capture of Babylon, by Cyrus, B.C. 536. "The breast and arms of silver," denoted the Medo-Persian kingdom, which lasted 205 years from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, B.C. 536, to the battle of Arbela, wherein Alexander conquered Darius, B.C. 331; "the belly and thighs of brass," represented the Macedo-Grecian kingdom of Alexander and his successors. (On the death of Alexander, his empire was succeeded by the four kingdoms of Macedo-Greece, Thrace, Syria, and Ægypt, erected by his four Generals and successors—Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy.) This dynasty lasted 163 years, to the conquest of the first kingdom, Macedon, B.C. 168, and 300 years, to the conquest of the last kingdom (Ægypt) by the Romans under Pompey, B.C. 30.

"The legs of iron; and feet, part of iron and part of clay," denoted, first, the Roman Republic, in its consular state,—and, afterwards, in the division of the Eastern and Western Empires, which weakened it: until it gradually sank under the repeated invasions of the Gothic and Vandalic tribes, and was broken into ten kingdoms.

"The iron and the clay not cleaving together," denoted, that, though the Romans should incorporate many foreign nations with themselves, yet "they shall not cleave one to another"—they shall derive no strength therefrom—"even as iron is not mixed with clay."

"And in the days of these kings"—of the iron dynasty—"shall the God of heaven set up a KINGDOM, which shall . . . break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever."

The "STONE CUT OUT (of the Mountain) WITHOUT HANDS, which smote the Image upon his feet *that were* made of iron and clay, and which brake them in pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth," denotes the FIFTH and LAST KINGDOM, viz., THAT OF JESUS CHRIST, THE KING of kings. THIS KINGDOM rose on the ruins of the FOUR preceding KINGDOMS, and is altogether SPIRITUAL. It is that "Stone, which the builders rejected" (Matt. xxi. 42,) but which, having "put down all rule and all authority and power" (1 Cor. xv. 24), became "the Head of the corner" (Mark xii. 10), binding together both Jews and Gentiles in the same common edifice of Christian faith: and which is to become, in the last days, "the Mountain of Jehovah's house, unto which all nations shall flow" (Isaiah ii. 2) for religious instruction, and edification, from "the Rock, CHRIST."

Jesus, while on earth, spake of Himself as "A KING;" but

then "HIS KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD" (John xviii. 36, 37), but "is within" (Luke xvii. 21). And the song of the redeemed in heaven is—"THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD ARE BECOME THE KINGDOMS OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST; and HE SHALL REIGN FOR EVER AND EVER."]

Now, that portion of the *Jewish Law*, the necessity of which was taken away by CHRIST, did contain nothing, in its own nature, virtuous; but did consist of things indifferent in themselves, and, consequently, not unalterable. For if¹ those things had had in them any cause why they must (*lit.*, were to be) performed, God would have prescribed (enjoined) them to all peoples,—not to one *people merely*,—and straightway from² the beginning;—not after mankind had been living two thousand years,³ and more (*lit.*, a term that exceeds *this number*), Abel, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedec, Job, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob—all pious men, and exceedingly beloved by (*lit.*, dear to) God—knew not (were ignorant of) this portion of the Law—either the whole, or almost the whole of it; and, notwithstanding,⁴ have received testimony of *their* faith towards (confidence in) God, and of God's (*lit.*, of the Divine) love towards them. And Moses exhorted not *his* father-in-law, Jethro, to adopt their rights; nor Jonah, the Ninevites; nor do the other Prophets reprove the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Sidonians, the Tyrians, the Idumæans, the Moabites—to whom they *respectively* write—for not adopting them, although they enumerate their failings accurately enough. THESE PRECEPTS, THEREFORE, WERE PECULIAR—introduced either (1) on account of some evil—to which the Jews were prone—that *was* to be avoided, [*or*, in order to obviate some evil—to which the Jews were prone]⁵ or, (2) for a trial of *their* obedience; or, (3) for an intimation of future things.

Wherefore, there is no more reason to wonder (*lit.*, it is no more to be wondered at), that these (*precepts*) could be abolished—than that (*lit.*, than if) any king should abrogate some municipal statutes, in order to establish the same law for *his* whole dominion (kingdom). Neither can any thing (any *argument*) be alleged, by which it may be proved, that God had bound (pledged) Himself that He would not⁶ alter any of that *Law, which He Himself had made*.

For, if a man say⁷ (*lit.*, if you say), that "these precepts are

¹ "If:" "si" requires the subjunctive mood, when the verb, as here, is in the imperfect tense. In this passage, "if" is hypothetical: viz., "if they had had" (which they have not). See note (3) page 50. We may further remark, that the imperfect subjunctive, in Latin, is sometimes employed, where in English, the pluperfect would be used.

² Or, "immediately after."

³ "Two thousand years:" bis mille . . . annos" (as used by Latin poets), instead of "bina millia annorum."

⁴ "And notwithstanding:" "Neque (or, "nec") eo minus," [LIT., "and not the less"] is a phrase—also occurring in Suetonius—that may be translated, "and notwithstanding that;" or, "nevertheless."

⁵ One (Latin) version is, "ob vitandum," etc.; another is, "ad vitandum," etc.

⁶ "That—not:" "ne" is used for "ut non."

⁷ "If a man say;" See page 65, note (1).

called PERPETUAL," *the reply is easy* : Men, also, oftentimes make use of *this* identical word, when they would [wish to] intimate, that what they command in this manner, are not *merely* annual, or adapted *only* to certain (set) times—suppose [*or*, for instance], *to times* of war, of peace, of scarcity, [*lit.*, of dear corn] : on which *account*, however, they are not hindered, but that they may issue¹ new regulations concerning these things [*or*, they are not *so* hampered, that they may not issue new enactments concerning the same things], when² the public welfare [service] shall [*or*, may] require it.³

So, also, the PRECEPTS OF GOD—given to the Hebrews—WERE SOME of them TEMPORARY—*only continuing in force* so long as the *Jewish* people lived⁴ in the wilderness ;⁵ OTHERS [other precepts] being RESTRICTED TO *their* POSSESSION OF THE LAND OF CANAAN : Therefore, in order to distinguish those⁶ (the former) from these⁷ (the latter), He calls *the latter* "PERPETUAL"—by which it might possibly be understood, that they [*the precepts*] ought not any where, or at any time, to be intermitted (neglected), unless God should give an intimation of *His* will to the contrary. Which mode⁸ of speaking—since it is common to all peoples—the Hebrews ought the less to wonder at ; because they know⁹, that in their own Law, *that* is called a "PERPETUAL right,"¹⁰ and a "PERPETUAL servitude," which continues [*only*] from Jubilee to Jubilee : indeed, the Coming of the Messiah is by themselves called the "fulfilling of the Jubilee," or the "Great Jubilee." Why, what [*is more*],¹¹ the Promise of entering hereafter, into a New Covenant¹² is extant among the Hebrew Prophets of old—as in chapter xxxi. (31—34) of Jeremiah, where God promises,¹³ that "He will enter into a New Covenant, which He will write in *their* very minds—and that men will have no need to learn Religion one of another ; for, [*He promises, that*] it shall be patent to *them* all : Moreover, that He will grant forgiveness of former

¹ "But that they may" (or, "that they may not") "issue : " Quominus—edant." "Quominus," after clauses denoting hindrance, takes the subjunctive mood.

² "When : " "ubi" seems here to have the sense of "whenever."

³ "Shall require." LIT., "shall," or, "may have required."

⁴ "Lived : " ["vitam," or, "statem"] degeret." LIT., "passed," or, "spent [their] life," or "time."

⁵ "In the wilderness : in locis desertis." LIT., "in desert places."

⁶ "Those : " "illas" refers to remoter objects.

⁷ "From these : " "his" refers to objects near at hand.

⁸ "Mode : " "genus" literally means "kind."

⁹ "Because they know : qui sciunt." LIT., "who know." A relative clause, expressing the REASON of what goes before, takes the subjunctive.

¹⁰ "A perpetual right," etc. See Exodus xxx. 6. ; 1 Samuel i. 22.

¹¹ "Why, what [is more]"—etc. : "Quid,—quod [majus est]"—etc. Or, "why [should I speak of this]—because," etc. "Quid [de eo dicam]"—quod," etc.

¹² "Covenant : " "Fœderis." "Fœdus" is literally "a Treaty," or "League," or "Alliance," (when applied to human beings) between the governing body and the governed.

¹³ "Covenant : " "Pactum." "A Covenant," or legal "contract." LIT., "(what) has been stipulated" between two contending parties.

sins." Which case is almost the same,¹ as if some king,² after great [grievous] enmity³ of *his* subjects with each other [*lit.*, of *his* citizens amongst themselves]—in order to establish peace *among them*, after having abolished diversity of laws—should impose upon them *all*, *one* general, and that a perfect, law; and promise remission [*lit.*, immunity from the punishment] of all *past* transgressions, to those who amend themselves for the future.

Although⁴ these arguments may suffice; yet, AS WE GO⁵ THROUGH THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THE Jewish LAW that is ABOLISHED, WE WILL SHOW, THAT THOSE PARTS ARE NOT SUCH AS COULD POSSIBLY IN THEMSELVES, BE PLEASING TO GOD—OR, *such as* OUGHT TO CONTINUE ALWAYS.

§ VIII.—As SACRIFICES, WHICH NEVER, IN THEMSELVES, HAVE BEEN PLEASING TO GOD.

The principal *feature of the abrogated Mosaic Law*, and which is most obvious [*lit.*, which mostly occurs to the eyes], are "SACRIFICES;" respecting which many Hebrews are of opinion, that they *were* devised by the ingenuity of men, before that *they were* commanded by God. This *much*, certainly, is apparent—that the HEBREWS WERE DESIROUS OF MANY RITES, so that there was (*lit.*, might be) sufficient reason, why God did enjoin very many upon them,—even on this account, *viz.*, lest, through remembrance of *their* sojourning in Ægypt, they might return to the worship of false gods.

But when their posterity valued these things more than *was* right—as though *sacrifices were*, in themselves, acceptable to God, and a part of true piety—they were reprov'd by the Prophets:—"ON ACCOUNT OF SACRIFICES"⁶—says God by David, in the Psalm which is the fiftieth, according to the Hebrews—"I WOULD NOT EXCHANGE EVEN A WORD WITH THEE, THAT IS TO SAY, IN ORDER THAT THOU MAYEST SACRIFICE WHOLE BURNT OFFERINGS TO ME—ONE UPON ANOTHER; *or*, IN ORDER THAT I MAY RECEIVE YOUNG BULLOCKS OR HE-GOATS FROM THY FOLDS. FOR SURELY EVERY ONE OF THE ANIMALS WHICH FEEDS IN THE FORESTS, OR ROAMS THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS, IS MINE. I HAVE IN READINESS (*or*, in reckoning) BOTH THE BIRDS AND THE WILD BEASTS, SO THAT IF I WERE HUNGRY, I SHOULD HAVE NO NEED [*lit.*, THERE WOULD BE TO ME NO NEED] TO RESORT TO THEE: I *should have no need*, I SAY, WHOSE IS THIS UNIVERSE, AND WHATEVER IS SEEN IN IT. DOST THOU THINK

¹ "Is almost the same:" "ferme ita se habet;" *LIT.*, "hath itself almost so."

² i. e. "any king." ³ "Enmity:" "inimicitias" has lost its PLURAL meaning.

⁴ "Although:" "quam quam," denoting possibility, takes the subjunctive.

⁵ "As we go." *LIT.*, "going." The participle, "euntes," is here used in the sense of "when," or "as [we] go."

⁶ This is Grotius's paraphrase, and not a literal translation of the passages, to which he refers his readers.

THAT I EAT FAT FLESH, OR DRINK THE BLOOD OF HE-GOATS?
—NAY, INDEED: *but* SACRIFICE PRAISE TO GOD, AND PAY *thy*
vows *unto the Most High*."

There are *some*, among the Hebrews, who say, that "these words were spoken, on this *account*, *viz.*, because *they*, who used to offer those Sacrifices were impure in heart (mind) and life." But the words which we have cited, teach a different [another] *matter*,—to wit, that the thing [*or*, act], in itself, possessed nothing acceptable to God. And if one [*lit.*, if you] consider the whole tenor of the Psalm, he [*lit.*, you] will see, that, God addresses THE GODLY in those words: For He had said—"GATHER TOGETHER THE GODLY TO ME;" then, *He adds*, "HEAR, O MY PEOPLE." These are *the words* of *One* teaching. Afterwards—having ended *the words*, which we have cited—*His* discourse is turned to the ungodly, as is wont to be done:—"BUT TO THE UNGODLY *man*, GOD SAYS."—Other passages indicate the same sense,—as Psalm li.: "TO OFFER SACRIFICES TO THEE, IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THEE, NEITHER ART THOU DELIGHTED WITH HOLOCAUSTS (whole-burnt-offerings). BUT THE SACRIFICE WHICH REALLY PLEASES THEE, IS A MIND [heart] DEJECTED BY THE SENSE OF ITS OWN FAULT; FOR THOU, O GOD, DOST NOT DESPISE A SPIRIT [HEART] *that is* BROKEN, AS IT WERE, AND CONTRITE." The like to *which* is that *declaration* in Psalm xl. "THOU DELIGHTEST NOT IN A SACRIFICE [*lit.*, in a victim *that is offered in sacrifice*], AND IN THE OFFERING OF A CAKE,¹ BUT THOU MAKEST ME OVER TO THYSELF, *to be Thy free-servant*, HAVING, AS IT WERE, BORED THROUGH *my* EAR,²—THOU NOT REQUIRING EITHER AN HOLOCAUST [a whole burnt offering], OR EXPIATORY SACRIFICE [*i. e.*, as an atonement for sins]; THEREFORE I HAVE ANSWERED, "LO! I AM COME (*lit.*, I AM PRESENT); AND, AS ACCORDING TO THE WRITTEN AGREEMENT, I WILL PERFORM, WHATEVER THOU MAYEST WISH; WHICH IS MY DELIGHT—FOR THY LAW IS FIXED IN MY HEART. I DO NOT SHUT

¹ "A cake: "libum" means the sacrificial "cake," or "wafer," that was consecrated and offered to God. The Jewish offerings were of three kinds, *viz.*, (1) Those in which an animal was killed as an atonement for sins. (2) Those taken from the vegetable kingdom and presented to God, in token of gratitude for mercies received from Him—such as ears of corn, parched grain, frankincense, meal, bread, CAKES, etc. (3) Drink offerings, which accompanied the other two sorts (Levit. iii. and viii).

² This alludes to the Jewish custom of boring, with an awl, the ears of those slaves, to whom, in the Sabbatical, and the Jubilee year, their masters offered emancipation, but who refused to accept it, preferring to continue in the same service. Boring the ears was a significant act, denoting (1) That the slave (now refusing the freedom offered him) was CLOSELY ATTACHED to his master's house and family. (2) That he was BOUND TO HEAR all his employer's orders, and to OBEY them PUNCTUALLY. The expression—"Mine ears hast Thou OPENED," may be rendered, "Mine ears hast Thou DIGGED," or "BORED." The quotation, made by Grotius (from Psalm xl. 6—10), is prophetic of Jesus Christ, Who became "AN OFFERING FOR SIN" for us—and Who "made Himself of no reputation, and TOOK UPON HIM THE FORM OF A SERVANT, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, He HUMILED HIMSELF, and became OBEДИENT UNTO DEATH—even the death of the cross."—(Philippians ii. 6—8.)

UP THE PRAISES OF THY JUSTICE WITHIN MY THOUGHTS, BUT I EVERYWHERE PREACH THY TRUTH AND KINDNESS; BUT, IN PARTICULAR, I CELEBRATE THY COMPASSION AND FAITHFULNESS IN THE NUMEROUS ASSEMBLY.”—In chapter i., according to Isaiah, God, is introduced *as* speaking thus:—“ON WHAT *account* ARE THERE SO MANY SACRIFICES (victims) to ME? A SATIETY POSSESSES ME OF ¹ SO MANY HOLOCAUSTS OF RAMS, AND OF THE FAT OF *fed* beasts, ALTHOUGH *it be* OF THE MOST RICH (*lit.*, MOST FAT) *kind*! NEITHER DO I LOVE BLOOD, WHETHER *it be* THAT OF YOUNG BULLOCKS, OR OF LAMBS, OR OF HE-GOATS, THAT YE SHOULD APPEAR WITH IT BEFORE ME: FOR WHO HATH REQUIRED THIS OF YOU, THAT YE SHOULD, IN THIS MANNER, POLLUTE *My* COURTS [*lit.*, places in the open air]? But in Jeremiah, *chapter* vii. there is a passage the counterpart (*lit.*, the twin) to this, and the interpreter of it:—“Thus saith the Lord of angels—the God of Israel—Heap ye up your holocausts, along with the sacrifices (victims) and eat ye their flesh yourselves. For at the time when I first led forth your ancestors out of *Ægypt* I required or commanded nothing ABOUT HOLOCAUSTS OR SACRIFICES (VICTIMS). BUT THIS IS *that* WHICH I EARNESTLY CHARGED THEM, *viz.*, THAT THEY SHOULD BE OBEDIENT TO ME; SO *I said*, THAT I WOULD BE THEIR GOD: AND THAT THEY SHOULD WALK IN THAT WAY, WHICH I WAS ABOUT TO COMMAND THEM; SO THAT ALL THINGS WOULD HAPPEN PROSPEROUSLY.”

These are the words of God in Hosea, chapter vi. “I consider beneficence towards men, much more acceptable, than *I do* sacrifice—to think aright of God, is above all holocausts [whole burnt sacrifices]. But in Micah, chapter vi. when the inquiry was instituted—“How any man might best render God propitious [*lit.*, win over God] to himself—*whether* by a vast number of rams—by a great quantity of oil—or by calves of a year old?” God answers—“I will tell thee what is truly good and acceptable to Me: namely, to render to every *man* his *due*—to do good to others—and to show thyself humble and submissive to God.”

Since it appears from these passages, that “Sacrifices” are not of (*lit.*, in) the number of those things which God wishes *PER SE* (for themselves), or primarily; but the *Jewish* people—a depraved superstition, as is usual,² gradually creeping in *among them*—placed the principal part of *their* piety in them, and believed that *their* sins were sufficiently compensated for by their sacrifices [victims], what wonder is it, if God at length abolished a thing *that was* indifferent in its own nature, but the use of which had lapsed³ (degenerated) into vice! *what wonder, I say, is it*, since *king* Hezekiah⁴ likewise broke in pieces the brazen serpent erected by

¹ The original being a phrase, is better translated—“I am satiated with.”

² “As is usual:” “ut fit” is a latin phrase. *LIT.*, “as comes to pass.”

³ “Had lapsed.” *LIT.*, “had flowed:” “fluxerat.” The *PLUPERFECT* tense is here used for the *IMPERFECT*, to denote what had been, and was still, taking place.

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Moses—for this reason, because the people had begun to honor it with religious worship!

Nor are there wanting predictions, which foretold, that those sacrifices, about which the controversy *now* is, *were* about to cease; which anyone will easily understand, who will but consider,¹ that, according to the Law of Moses, *it was* permitted *by God*, to the posterity of Aaron alone, to offer sacrifice,—and that only in *their* native land.

Moreover, in Psalm cx., according to the Hebrew number, there is promised “a King, *Who* should rule very extensively—dating [*lit.*, making] the beginning of *His* reign [of *His* reigning] from Zion; which same King would be a Priest also for ever, and that like² Melchisedec. Isaiah, indeed, in chapter xix., says, that “An altar shall be seen in *Egypt*, where not only the *Egyptians*, but the Assyrians and the Israelites should worship God:” And, in chapter lxvi., he says, “it will come to pass, that nations very far distant, and of all languages, as well as [*lit.*, not less than] the Israelites, may offer gifts to God; and out of them also, *those* should be appointed, who might be Priests and Levites.” All which *predictions* could not possibly come to pass, while the Law of Moses continued *in force*. Add to these, that in Malachi, chapter i., where God, foretelling future *events*, says, that “the gifts of the Hebrews were loathsome³ [*lit.*, were for a loathing] to Him—that from the east to the west [*lit.*, from *sun-rise* [to *sun-set*] His Name should be celebrated among all the Gentiles, and that incense should be presented [*lit.*, done, or, made] to Him, and the purest things should be offered to Him.

Daniel, indeed, in chapter ix., rehearsing the prophecy of the angel Gabriel, concerning Christ, says—“HE WILL ABOLISH SACRIFICE AND GIFT.” And not by words only, but by the things themselves, God sufficiently intimates, that the Sacrifices, prescribed by Moses, are no longer approved by Him; since, already, for above⁴ one thousand, six hundred years, He has suffered [*lit.*, since He suffers]⁵ the Jews⁶ to be without a Temple—without an

¹ *LIT.*, “who will but have considered:” “modo considerarit.” The verb is an abbreviation of “consideraverit,” which is the future PERFECT; here used for the FUTURE tense. This use of the future seems to result from viewing a FUTURE action AS IF ALREADY COMPLETED.

² “Like:” “instar” takes a genitive case after it, although it is strictly a noun, signifying “the model,” “the image,” “the like.”

³ “Were loathsome to Him:” “fastidio Sibi esse” is a latin phrase: which, literally rendered, would read—“were objects of [*LIT.*, objects for] loathing to Him.” “Ignavia erit TIBI DEDECORI”—“Cowardice will be a disgrace to you”—is a similar construction. Thus the verb “sum” has TWO DATIVES, viz., one denoting the OBJECT TO WHICH,—the other, the END FOR WHICH anything is, or is done.

⁴ “Above:” “amplius” may also be rendered “more (than).” “Than,” however, is understood and not here expressed in the latin.

⁵ “Suffers:” “patiatur” is the PRESENT tense of the subjunctive, and seems to be used for the PAST.

⁶ Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the misery and the loss of *human life* among the Jews that followed; i. e. for nearly 1800 years, their land has *been trodden down of the Gentiles*” (Luke xxi, 24); they themselves have been driven

altar—without an infallible census¹ [accurate numbering] of *their* families,—by which² it might be manifest who they were, who might lawfully perform sacred *rites*!

§ IX.—LIKEWISE THE DISTINCTION OF MEATS.

What we have shewn concerning the law of “Sacrifices,” the same we may also show concerning that *law*, by which “certain kinds of meats are interdicted.” It is evident, then, that, after the great deluge, the right to use (*lit.*, the right of using) any food whatsoever *was* given by God to Noah, and to his posterity; which right, consequently, passed over—not only to Japhet and Ham [Cham], but also—to Shem [Sem], and his posterity,—*viz.*, Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob. But, afterwards, when the people in Ægypt were [*lit.*, was] tainted with the depraved superstitions of that nation, then God first forbad some kinds of animals to be eaten; either (1) because the Ægyptians chiefly offered those *animals* to their gods, and made divination by them; or (2) because in that typical [*lit.*, shadowy] law of *Moses*, certain vices were denoted by certain kinds of animals.

That THESE PRECEPTS are [*or*, were] NOT UNIVERSAL, appears from the instance of that, which is enacted concerning the flesh of a beast *that* died a natural death [*lit.*, by its own fate] in Deuteronomy xiv. 21. “That it was not lawful for the Israelites, indeed, to eat it, but *was* lawful for the sojourners *only* ;” which sojourners,³ indeed, the Jews are commanded to attend upon in all good offices as *persons* recommended to them [*or*, as *persons* esteemed] by God. The ancient Hebrew Rabbins [*lit.*, Masters of the Hebrews], likewise, openly reported—“That, in the times of the Messiah, the law concerning forbidden meats, would cease, and that *the flesh* of the sow (*i. e.* pork) would be no less clean than *the flesh* of the ox (*i. e.*, beef).” And, certainly, since God wished (intended) to collect ONE *people* OUT OF ALL PEOPLES, TO HIMSELF, it was more reasonable, that He should make liberty than that *He should make* bondage, in such things, common to all. An examination of the Festival-days *now* follows.

from their country, scattered over the face of the whole earth WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF TRIBES—WITHOUT A PRINCE—without even the form of a civil government—WITHOUT A TEMPLE—with no officiating priesthood—without the means of sacrifice; for where can it be offered? (Deut. xii. 14.; 2 Chronicles vii. 12).

¹ That is, a REGISTER OF FAMILIES AND TRIBES. The Hebrews continued their genealogies with the greatest care during 3500 years: that of Christ is 4000 years in its connexion. Without these the Priests could not exercise their sacred functions (Ezra ii. 62). After the war with the Romans and their final dispersion, the Jews lost their genealogies, and since those events no genealogies have since been kept, which can be depended upon: the Providence of God, even in this particular proving Jesus to be the Christ; for it is rendered impossible, that any person, since our Lord's Coming, could prove himself to be of that Tribe, to which prophecy had limited the Messiah—Whose genealogy in Matthew i. is in the line of Joseph, and that in Luke iii. in the line of Mary.—The loss of the genealogies caused the endless disputations spoken of by the Apostle (1 Timothy i. 4; Titus iii. 6).

² Another reading is “whence it might appear, for whom it was lawful,” etc.

³ “Sojourners.” See Deut. x. 18, 19; xiv. 28.

§ X.—AND *the distinction* OF DAYS.

These all, in general, were instituted in commemoration of the Benefit received from God, *by the Israelites*, when they were delivered from *their* Egyptian calamity, and were afterwards brought into the “promised land.” Now, in truth, the Prophet Jeremiah in chapter xvi. and xxiii. says, that, “The time was about to come, when new and much greater Benefits would so eclipse the memory of that Benefit, that there would scarcely be any mention of it.”

Then again, *that* which we were just now saying of “SACRIFICES,” is also true of “FESTIVAL DAYS,”—*viz.*, that the people had begun to trust in them, likewise; as if, when they had well observed these *Precepts*, [*lit.*, as if, the Precepts having been well observed *by them*,] the offences which they committed in other respects, were to be accounted of no great *consequence*!! Wherefore, in chapter i. of Isaiah, God says, that “He loathes their calends¹ and Festival-days, and that they² were so great burden to Him, that He can scarcely endure *them*!”

Concerning the Sabbath, in particular, it is wont to be objected, that “the Precept is universal and perpetual; because *it was* not given to one people *only*, but—in the very commencement of the world—to Adam, the *first* parent of all men.” I answer, with the assent of the most learned of the Hebrews, [*lit.*, the most learned of the Hebrews assenting *to what I say*], that “the Precept concerning the Sabbath is twofold:”—I. The Precept of Remembrance (Exodus xx. 8). And II. The Precept of Observance (Exodus xxxi. 31). “The Precept of Remembrance” is fulfilled, by a religious commemoration of the creation of the world. “The Precept of Observance” consisted in a strict abstinence from every other employment. The former Precept was given from the beginning *of the world*; and, no doubt, the pious men, *who lived* before the *Mosaic* Law obeyed it—*viz.*, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: although many travels of the last *three* of them [*lit.*, of whom], indeed, are related, there is no indication any where, of *their* journey having been intercepted (intermitted) on the account of the Sabbath; as one (*lit.*, as you) may constantly find after the departure *of the Israelites* out of *Ægypt*. For the people—after having been led forth out of *Ægypt*, and having happily passed over the Red Sea—spent *their* first secure³ (peaceful) day *as* a Sabbath, and therein sang a Song of Triumph and rejoicing to God. From this time, that complete (strict) Rest on (of) the Sabbath was commanded, the first mention of which is in the “gathering of manna” [Exodus xvi. 23]; Exodus xxxv. 2; Leviticus xxiii. 3. And in this sense, the deliverance out of

¹ “Calends” were the first days of months.

² Or, “they served for so great a burden to Him.”

³ “Secure day,” etc. See “Nelson’s Festivals.” Chapter I.

Ægypt is made (is assigned *as*) the cause of the law concerning the Sabbath, in Deuteronomy v. 15.

And, at the same time, by this law, provision is made, for servants against the severity of *those* masters, who allowed them no respite from *their* toils, as can be¹ seen in the said passages. It is true, that, even sojourners² were bound by this law; namely, because the appearance of the whole nation resting *on the seventh-day, from the six days' worldly avocations*, should³ (*lit.*, ought to) be uniform. But that this law of strict Rest *was* not given to other nations, is apparent, even hence (from this consideration), *viz.*, that, in many places, it is called "A SIGN," and also "A SPECIAL COVENANT,"⁴ ("Special Treaty") between God and the Israelites—as in Exodus xxxi. 13, 16. Moreover, we have just before shown [*in this* §],—from the promise of much greater benefits,—that *those things* which were instituted for a memorial of the departure from Ægypt, are (*or were*) not such as must never (*lit.*, ought never to) cease. Add *to which*, that, if the law, concerning the Rest on [*lit.*, of] the Sabbath, had been enacted from the beginning *of the world*,—and in that sense, that it could never possibly be abolished [taken away], surely, that law must have predominated [would have prevailed] in the antagonism (*lit.*, in the conflict) of other laws;—whereas, the contrary is now the case [*lit.*, the case now hath itself contrary]. For it is evident, that infants⁴ were rightly circumcised on the Sabbath; just as victims also, while the Temple⁵ *was* standing, were slaughtered on the Sabbath-day, as well as [no less than] on the other days. The very Teachers of the Hebrews show the mutability of this law, when they say, that, "at the command of a Prophet, work is rightly done on the Sabbath:" which they prove, by the instance of the taking of Jericho on the Sabbath-day,—at the command of Joshua.⁶

Now, some of these *Teachers* show, not wrongly, that "the distinction of days shall be taken away in the time of the Messiah,"—from a passage of Isaiah lxvi. 23, where is foretold, that "it would come to pass, that the worship of God would be perpetual—from Sabbath to Sabbath—from new moon to new moon."

§ XI.—ALSO *as to* OUTWARD CIRCUMCISION.

Let us come to "Circumcision," which, assuredly, is more

¹ "Can be:" "est" here appears to supply the place of "potest."

² "Sojourners." This obligation extended to SOJOURNERS IN THE LAND; but NOT to OTHERS, NOT LIVING IN JUDÆA,—who, nevertheless, observed the Precepts given to the posterity of Noah. This distinction is maintained by the Hebrews themselves.

³ "Should" (or "must"): "debebat" expresses A MORAL OBLIGATION.

⁴ "Infants." According to the Hebrew proverb—"The Sabbath gives place to Circumcision." See John vii. 22.

⁵ "While the Temple," etc. See Numbers xxviii. 9.

⁶ *LIT.*, "Joshua commanding [it to be done]."—Joshua vi. chapter.

ancient than Moses—as having been commanded to Abraham and his posterity.

But this very precept was the origin (beginning) of the “Covenant” (*lit.*, of the Treaty) published by Moses. For, thus God is found to have spoken to Abraham, in chapter xvii. of Genesis:—“I will give to thee, and to thy posterity, the land in the which thou hast lived a stranger,—the land, I say, of Canaan for a possession that shall endure. Thou, therefore, keep My covenant (Treaty)—thou, I say, and thy posterity for ever [*lit.*, throughout the ages of ages. This is the Covenant between Me and you, and your posterity,—that every male should be circumcised.” But we have just before (§ VII. Bk. V.) perceived, that a “New Covenant” *was* about to succeed in the place of this Covenant, and *one*, indeed, common to all nations; for which reason the necessity of a mark of distinction must ¹ likewise cease. This also, is manifest, *viz.*, that, in the precept of Circumcision, a certain mystical and superior (*lit.*, more excellent) meaning is (*or*, was) contained: which the Prophets indicate when they command the heart to be circumcised, whereto all the precepts of Jesus tend.

Wherefore, the Promises, also, annexed to Circumcision, must necessarily ² be referred, ³ in like manner, to something more important (greater); namely, that *Promise* of an earthly possession *must be referred* to the revelation of a truly eternal possession; which *revelation* was never more clear than by Jesus; and that, of appointing Abraham as the “father of many nations,” *must be referred* to that time, when not some few nations *only*, but *nations* innumerable, spread over the whole world, should imitate that faith (affiance) of Abraham in (towards) God, so much made mention of; which *thing*, indeed, has not come to pass except (*or*, has only come to pass) by means of the Gospel. Now, it is not surprising, that, when a work *is* completed, the shadows ⁴ of *such* intended work are taken away.

But that the grace of God is (*or*, was) not restricted to this sign (*of circumcision*), one (*lit.*, you) may sufficiently discern hence (from this consideration) *viz.*, that not only the more ancient, but even “Abraham” himself “yet being uncircumcised,” “pleased God;” and Circumcision was omitted by the Hebrews—the whole time of *their* journey through the deserts of the Arabs,—God not at all expostulating *with them* for it.

¹ “Must”—when it applies to DUTY, or MORAL OBLIGATION—is best, as here, rendered by “debebat.”

² “Must necessarily” when it relates to ABSOLUTE NECESSITY, should, as here, be denoted by “necesse est.”

³ “Be referred.” *LIT.*, “Wherefore, it is necessary” (or “it must needs be) that the Promise, annexed to Circumcision, be referred,” etc.

⁴ “Shadows”—i. e., the “SHADOWS give way to the SUBSTANCES,—the TYPE is superseded by the ANTI-TYPE.

§ XII.—AND YET THAT THE APOSTLES OF JESUS WERE GENTLE
(EASY) IN TOLERATING THESE THINGS ALSO.

Certainly, there was *good reason*, why the Hebrews should return many (*lit.*, great) thanks to Jesus and His ambassadors; because they were freed by Him from that heavy load of rites, and became assured of their liberty by gifts and miracles,—not at all inferior (*lit.*, yielding) to Moses.

But, notwithstanding, the first publishers of our own (*the Christian*) doctrine exacted not even this (*trifling return of gratitude*) from them, *viz.*, that they should acknowledge this their happiness; but provided they adopted [*lit.*, if they did adopt] the precepts of Jesus,—*which were* very full of all virtue,—they readily allowed them, in neutral matters, to follow what mode of living they might wish: yet so (*or*, provided, however,) that they did not impose the necessity of it, upon strangers, (*i. e.*, upon “*Gentiles*,” *who were* “*strangers to the commonwealth of Israel*”) to whom that “*Ritual-law*” (*lit.*, law of Rites) had never been given; which one *thing*, even, is sufficient in order to be clearly shown, that the tenets of Jesus *were* unjustly rejected, under that pretence of the “*Ritual-law*!”

Having solved this objection—almost the only one—which is wont to be opposed to the miracles of Jesus, let us come *now* to other arguments, which are suited to convince the Jews.

§ XIII.—A PROOF AGAINST THE JEWS *taken* FROM THIS,—
WHICH is by *their own* CONFESSION,—*viz.*, THE EXTRAORDINARY
PROMISE, *as to* THE MESSIAH.

We and they are agreed [*lit.*, It is agreed between us and them], that, in the PREDICTIONS OF THE PROPHETS, above (*or*, in addition to) the many authors of great blessings who have come to [*lit.*, have befallen] the Hebrews from heaven, ONE is [*or* was] PROMISED FAR SUPERIOR TO [more excellent than] THE REST, WHOM THEY CALL—by a name common indeed to *others*, but eminently belonging to Him [*Jesus*] alone, *viz.*,—“THE MESSIAH.” We assert, that He came long ago: they expect, that *He* is about to come! It remains, that we seek for a decision of this controversy, in those Books,¹ the authority of which we *both* equally acknowledge.

§ XIV.—IT IS *here* SHOWN, FROM THE PREVIOUS NOTIFICATION
OF THE TIME—THAT HE HAS ALREADY COME.

Daniel, to whose eminent piety Ezekiel² has borne testimony (*lit.*, to whom Ezekiel has afforded testimony of *his* (*Daniel's*) very great piety), neither intended (wished) to deceive us, nor

¹ *i. e.* The Books of the OLD TESTAMENT, which the Christians as well as the Jews recognise, as Books of DIVINE inspiration, and, therefore, as “an Authority,” on this, and, indeed, on every other point.

² “Ezekiel” xiv. 14; xxviii. 3.

was he *himself* deceived by the "Angel Gabriel." Now he (*Daniel*), at the dictation of *that* Angel (*lit.*, the Angel dictating to him,) has left on record (*or* written), in chapter ix., that—"after the publication of the edict, concerning the restoration of the city of Jerusalem—500 years would not elapse, without ¹ the Messiah ² having come" (*lit.*, that the Messiah should not be present). *The words of the Prophet, Daniel ix. 24, 25, are:—*"Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

"Know, therefore, and understand, *that*, from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times."

In the prophecies of Daniel, "days" are put for "years;" and "weeks" for "weeks of years." Consequently, "70 weeks" would signify (70 multiplied by 7, or) "490 years." Messiah was to be put to death at the end of this period; reckoning from the time when a commandment should go forth to restore and to build Jerusalem, as will presently be shown. It is remarkable, that, from the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Longimanus), king of Persia, —from whom Ezra received his commission (Ezra viii. 8),—to the death of Jesus Christ, there are just 490 years, i. e. "70" prophetic "weeks." There are, however, 4 Edicts, to which the words, "the going forth of the commandment," etc. may seem applicable—viz.:—

- (1) B. C., 536; 1st year of Cyrus, (Ezra i. 1.)
- (2) B. C., 519; 2nd year of Darius [Hystaspes]; (Ezra vi. 1; Haggai i. 1.)
- (3) B. C., 457; 3rd year of Artaxerxes [Longimanus]; (Ezra vii. 7.)
- (4) B. C., 444; 4th year of Artaxerxes (Nehemiah i. ii.)

(The Temple and the whole city had been utterly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 588. After lying in ruins for 52 years, the foundations of the second Temple were laid by Zerubbabel, and after many obstructions from the Samaritans and others, was finished and dedicated,—21 years after it was begun, B. C. 515; Ezra vi. 15, 16. And the Wall, or rampart, round about it was

¹ "Without the Messiah having come:" "quin adesset Messias." "Quin" here seems to be used for "ut non," or "nisi;" and takes the subjunctive mood after it.—

² "Messiah." This word signifies "Anointed;" that is, a Person appointed to some high station, dignity, or office; because originally men so appointed (particularly kings, priests, and prophets) were anointed with oil. Hence the word 'Messiah' means the Person pre-ordained and appointed by God, to be the Great Deliverer of the Jewish nation, and the Redeemer of all mankind. The word 'CHRIST' means the same.—(Bp. Forteus, on "Christian Revelation.")

completed and dedicated,—13 years after it was commenced, B.C. 444.)

“There are some things in the prediction, which, when duly adverted to”—says the commentator Scott, quoting Maclaurin—“give good ground for passing by the first 2 Edicts. And, as to the last 2 Edicts, it has been well observed that Christ’s death happened 70 weeks of *solar* years after one of them, and as many weeks of *lunar* years after the other. The 2 Edicts speak only about ‘rebuilding of the TEMPLE,’ without one word about ‘rebuilding of the city;’ whereas, the prediction speaks about an Edict for ‘rebuilding the city and the walls and streets of it’—without one word about ‘rebuilding the Temple’—though in foretelling the 2nd destruction of the city, that of the Temple is also mentioned. But the THIRD EDICT—that of the 7th year of Artaxerxes, though it does not contain the very expressions of Daniel’s prediction—contains things, to which these expressions apply.—Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, that the dispersed Jews became a people and a city, when they returned into a body politick; and that was in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus: when Ezra, by that king’s commission, set up magistrates all over the land, to govern the people according to the law of God and of the king. Under Ezra they first became a city, by a government of their own.”

The date of the decree, to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, must—on account of the much greater length of time, that intervened, between the time of Cyrus (or that of Darius) and Christ’s oblation of Himself on the cross, “70 weeks,” i. e., 490 years—be reckoned from the 7th year of the reign of Artaxerxes, from whom Ezra derived his commission,—

The *third edict* (that of Artaxerxes) was issued, about 457 B.C.
Jesus Christ ‘made an end of sin (or, *sin-offerings*)

and made reconciliation (or, *atonement*) for iniquity and transgression, and brought in an everlasting righteousness’—at, or about, the age of 33 33 A.D.

The total number of years, from the said decree to the offering the atoning sacrifice of *Christ*, will be found to be that predicted by Daniel, viz.,
 ‘70 (prophetical) weeks.’ 490 yrs.

And this is according to the computation of most eminent chronologers, who fix the date *from Ezra’s commission*.

“We have here (in Dan. ix. 24, and following verses) one of the most undeniable prophecies of Christ, and of His coming and salvation, which is found in the whole Old Testament; and we see the true reason, why the Jews are unwilling to call Daniel a Prophet; as this prediction demonstrates, that Jesus was the promised Messiah, and that they are guilty of the most obstinate unbelief, in expecting another Messiah, so many centuries after the time

expressly fixed for His coming, and after the actual and undeniable accomplishment of the other parts of the same prophecy. There are indeed difficulties in expounding the passage, which have occasioned different opinions among commentators; yet all agree in the great outlines.”¹

But above two thousand years have elapsed since that period (*five hundred years*) to this day; and ¹ He Whom the Jews expect is not come: Nor can they possibly name any one else, to whom that period would apply (*lit.*, would square). Now, it so well agrees with Jesus, that Nehumiah, an Hebrew Teacher, who preceded Him by 50 years, even then said ² openly, that the time of the Messiah, signified by Daniel, could not possibly be protracted beyond those 50 years.

Another sign,—which we have touched upon before (*in Book I. § XVII.*),—corresponds with this *sign*, of the time, *viz.*, in relation to the “Dominion over all nations,” *that was* to be Divinely given, after (*lit.*, after that) the posterity of Seleucus (*Nicator*)³ and (*Ptolemy*) Lagus⁴ had ceased to reign; the latter of which *posterities* ended in Cleopatra,⁵ not long before Jesus was born.

The third sign of the time is in the said chapter ix. in Daniel, *viz.*, that, “after the Coming of CHRIST, the city of Jerusalem⁶ [*lit.*, the city, Jerusalem] would be, [*lit.*, was to be] demolished;” which prophecy of the destruction of *that* city, Josephus himself refers to his own lifetime: Whence it follows that the period prescribed for the COMING OF THE MESSIAH, HAD THEN already PAST.

¹ “And—not:” “nec” is here equivalent to “et non.”

² “Said.” *LIT.*, “would have said.” “Dixerit,” is the 3rd person singular perfect tense SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD. When any one relates the words of another, not representing him as speaking in the first person, the relator is said to use the OBLIQUA ORATIO.

³ “Seleucus” [Nicator] formerly reigned in Syria and the East; and was succeeded by Antiochus Soter.

⁴ Ptolemy [Lagus] the son of Lagus, was king of Ægypt and the South; and was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus.—It may here be mentioned, that “Alexander the Great” was cut off in the prime of life, and his dominions were divided into four parts, not to his posterity, but to his captains; who did not equal the honour of his kingdom, which was “plucked up,” for the benefit of others, and not of his own family. The natural brother and the sons, with the mother and wife, of Alexander, in about 15 years perished, chiefly by treachery and murder. And four of his captains became heads of four subordinate kingdoms; *viz.*, the two captains [Seleucus (Nicator) and Ptolemy (Lagus)] just mentioned; and Cassander, king of Greece and the west; and Lysimachus, king of Thrace and the north.

⁵ Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, was a most beautiful, but lascivious and voluptuous woman, and the last reigning sovereign of Ægypt. After the defeat which she and her lover, Mark Antony, sustained, in the naval battle at Actium, in which encounter the Roman Emperor Augustus came off conqueror, B.C. 31, she, in order that she might not be carried a prisoner to Rome, (seeing that she could not captivate Augustus with her charms) put an end to her existence, by means of two wasps applied to her breasts, in the ensuing year, B.C. 30,—on the tomb of the aforesaid M. Antony, who had previously committed suicide. With this downfall, the race of Ægyptian kings terminated; and Ægypt, thenceforth, FORMED A PORTION OF THE ROMAN empire, about thirty years before the Birth of Christ.

⁶ “The city, Jerusalem:” “*urbs Hierosolyma.*” A *NOUM* annexed to ANOTHER *NOUM*, or to a pronoun, and denoting the same person or thing (as here) is PUT IN THE SAME CASE, by what is called “apposition,” or “attraction.”

To the same *event*, THAT PROPHECY relates, which *is* in Haggai, chapter ii., *where* God consoles "Zorobabel"¹—the Ethnarch²—"the Governor of Judah—and Joshua" [*or* Jesus] "the son of Josedech, the High [*lit.*, the Highest] Priest" (*who were* sorrowful, because they saw that the Temple, raised by them, corresponded not to the magnitude of the former Temple) with this Promise, *viz.*, that, "It shall come to pass, that greater honor should befall that Temple, than the former:" That this, certainly, can neither be possibly said of the size of the work, nor of the materials, nor of the workmanship, nor of the adornment *of it*,—the history of those times, in the Sacred Writings, and in Josephus—compared with that history which there is of the Temple of Solomon—makes unquestionable.

Add to this, that the Teachers of the Hebrews [*or*, the Hebrew Teachers] remark, that "there were wanting two very great endowments to 'the latter Temple,' which were at 'the former Temple,' *viz.*, A certain conspicuous Light, as the token of the Divine Majesty, and Divine Inspiration. But in what *respect* this latter Temple was to excel the former, there, indeed, God briefly shows, when He says that "He was about to establish His Peace"—that is, grace and good-will—"in that Temple, as it were by a sure Covenant" [*lit.*, Treaty].

Now, Malachi pursues this *subject* more at large, in chapter iii.: "Behold! I am about to send My ambassador, who would prepare My ways. He shall shortly come into His own Temple" (now Malachi lived in the time of the building of the LATTER Temple)—*viz.*; "the Lord, Whom ye desire—the Internuncio of My Covenant—your delight."³

Therefore, the Messiah ought to come, *while* the "Second Temple" *was* standing: in which description comes all that period⁴ from Zorobabel to the time of Vespasian—because, in the time of "Herod the Great," the Temple was not *absolutely* re-built [*lit.*, resuscitated] out of *its old* ruins, but gradually altered⁵ throughout *its* parts—the alteration *being such* as makes it seem⁶ the same Temple. And, indeed, among the Hebrews and *their* neighbours, so constant was the opinion, that the Messiah *was* to be expected at that time⁷—that many took Herod—some, Judas the Gaulonite—some, others (who lived about the time⁸ of Jesus) for the Messiah.

¹ "Zorobabel"—or "Zerubabel," who is also called Sheshbazzar, was an ancestor of the promised Messiah (Matt. i. 12).

² "Ethnarcham" is, by Clarke, translated "a heathen prince."

³ "Delight" (or "Favorite"); "deliciæ" is one of those plural nouns, of which no singular occurs.

⁴ i. e., about 600 years. This period elapsed—from the building of the Temple by Zorobabel to the destruction of the same (A.D. 70) by the Emperor Titus Vespasian.

⁵ "Altered": "immutatum." Another edition has "innovatum," renovated.

⁶ Or, "to be called": "appellari."

⁷ & ⁸ *LIT.*, "times;" but the latin word seems here to drop its plural meaning.

§ XV.—(TOGETHER WITH AN ANSWER TO THAT *objection*, WHICH IS MENTIONED *by some, viz.,* THAT *His Coming is deferred* ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE SINS OF THE PEOPLE.

The Jews think that they are overwhelmed by these arguments, respecting the Coming of the Messiah, in order to elude which *arguments*, some of them say that their sins were involved in the cause,¹ why He did not² come at the time promised. Not to mention (*lit.*, to omit), that the DECREE expressed (defined) in the said Prophecies, is shown to be NOT DEPENDING (*lit.*, not suspended) ON ANY CONDITION: How, *then*, could *His Coming* possibly be delayed on the account of *their sins*—when even this thing was foretold, *viz.*, that, “on account of the very many and very great sins of the people, the city was to be destroyed, shortly (a little) after the time of the Messiah?”

Add to *which*, that³ the Messiah was to come, also for this cause—*viz.*, to administer a remedy for (*or*, to) a most corrupt generation [age]; and together with rules for amending the life, to bring the pardon of crimes. Whence it is said in Zechariah, chapter xii, concerning His time, that “a Fountain will then be opened to the house of David, and to all in Jerusalem, to wash away *their sins*.” And it is allowed, [*or*, common] among the Hebrews themselves, to call the Messiah “Isch Copher”—that is, “The Appeaser.”

Now, it is plainly abhorrent to reason, to assert that, on the account of some disease, that *remedy*, which was precisely intended for that disease, was delayed!

§ XVI.—ALSO FROM THE PRESENT STATE OF THE JEWS, COMPARED WITH THOSE *rewards*, WHICH THE LAW PROMISES.

Of this—which we assert, *viz.*, that “the Messiah came long ago upon earth”—even *common* sense might convince [*lit.*, is able to convince] the Jews.

GOD PROMISED *them*—in the Covenant entered into through the medium of Moses—“a happy POSSESSION OF THE LAND OF PALESTINE, SO LONG AS THEY FRAMED THEIR LIFE ACCORDING TO THE PRESCRIPT [conformed their life to the precept] OF THE LAW: If, on the contrary, they grievously sinned against it, He threatened them with exile, and other evils of that kind.”⁴

But, notwithstanding, if, at any time, oppressed with *such* evils, and led by repentance of *their* sins, they returned to obedience, [He promised] that He would be ready to be touched with compassion for *His* people, and that He would cause them to return

¹ *LIT.*, “were in the cause.” But the latin words (“in causâ esse”) being a phrase are more correctly rendered—“were the cause,” or, “the occasion.”

² “Why—not,” or, “that—not:” “quominus.”

³ Or, “moreover:” “Adde quod.”

⁴ “Of that kind.” The accusative, “id genus,” is here used instead of the genitive case, *viz.*, “ejus generis.”

to their own *country*, however dispersed *they were*, over the furthest parts of the world; as *any one* may see,¹ as well elsewhere, as in the xxxth of Deuteronomy and the 1st of Nehemiah. But already there are one thousand, five hundred, years²—and beyond—*during* which *space* the Jews are deprived of their native *country*, and they are deprived of a Temple. And, if, at any time, they designed to build a new *one*,³ they were always hindered—even by balls of fire [*lit.*, of flames], bursting out at the foundations,—attended with the destruction of *their* labors [*or*, works]: which *circumstance* has been handed down by Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer not a Christian.

Formerly, when the *Jewish* people had defiled themselves with the most grievous crimes, and had everywhere sacrificed *their* children to Saturn⁴—*that people* did account adulteries as nothing—did rob the widows and fatherless—did shed innocent blood in great abundance (all which the Prophets upbraid them with)—then suffered exile, but not longer than 70 years. And meanwhile God omitted not to speak to them by *His* prophets, and to console with the hope of return,—even pointing out the time⁵ thereof.

But now ever since they have been ejected⁶ from their native *country*, they remain outcasts, and despised: No Prophet comes [*or*, has come] to them—no intimation of *their* future return to *their own land*, is given them. Their Teachers, as if blasted (inspired) with a spirit of giddiness, have turned away to filthy fables, and ridiculous opinions—with which the Talmudical books abound—which *books* they (*the Jews*) presume to call the Law *that was* given by word of mouth,⁷ and to compare with those—or even to PREFER to those—*Books*, which Moses wrote. For *the things*, which are to be read therein⁸—concerning “God’s weeping, because He suffered the city of *Jerusalem* to be destroyed—Concerning “His daily diligence in reading the Law”—Concerning “Behemoth and Leviathan”—and *concerning* many other things—are so absurd, that it would even be tiresome to relate *them*. And yet, in so long [*lit.*, so great] a period, the Jews have neither turned aside to the worship of false gods, as *they did* heretofore; nor do they defile themselves with murders [*i. e.*, with *human victims, slaughtered as sacrifices to Pagan gods*], nor are they accused of adulteries; but they strive, both by prayers and by fast-

¹ [“Any one” may see: est videre.” “Est” is here used for “potest—is able”—“may:” See note (1) page 87.

² “A thousand, five hundred, years,” increased by 280 years, will represent the period that has now elapsed.

³ “To build a new [Temple]:” i.e., in the times of Adrian, Constantine, and Julian. See Chrysostom (Bk. II.) “against the Jews.”

⁴ “Saturn,” the planet, is “Moloch.”

⁵ *LIT.*, “even the time thereof having been declared [by Him].”

⁶ *LIT.*, “from [the time],” or, “when,” they were once ejected.”

⁷ *LIT.*, “by” (or, “from) the mouth,” i.e., orally.

⁸ i.e., in the Jewish writings—the books of the Talmud. Well and truly did our Divine Master declare, to the Jews of His day—“Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.” (Matt. xv. 6.)

ings, to appease God—and *yet* they are not attended to (*lit.*, are not heard) !

Since these *things* are so,¹ we must by all means conclude one of two things [*lit.*, one of two things must by all means be supposed *by us*], either (1) that the Covenant, made through the medium of Moses, is entirely abolished ; or, (2) that the whole body of the Jews was guilty² of some grievous sin, continuing for so many ages : And what sort *of sin* that is, let them say themselves ; or if they are not able to say, let them believe us, that the sin is that of *their* despising the Messiah, who was come (must have come) before (*lit.*, before that) these evils began to happen to them.

§ XVII.—JESUS IS PROVED TO BE THE MESSIAH—FROM THOSE *things* WHICH WERE PREDICTED OF THE MESSIAH.

And these things, indeed,—as we have *before* said,—do show, that the Messiah had already come, so many ages since : *but* we add, that He is no other than Jesus.

For, others—whoever wished that they themselves should be taken, or have been taken, for the Messiah—have left no sect behind, in which that opinion continued. None, now avow themselves as followers either of Herod, or of Judas Gaulonita,³ or of *that noted impostor* Barchobebas,⁴ who in the time of Adrian declared himself “ the Messiah,” and imposed on some very learned men. But *they*, who apply (give) the appellation to Jesus—from *the time* when He was on earth to this day—have been and are very many, not in one country only, but as far as this world extends. I could here relate many other *things*, formerly predicted or believed of the Messiah, which we believe to have taken place in Jesus, since they were not even averred of others :—Such as *this*, that “ He was of the posterity of David ”—that “ He was born of the virgin,”⁵ *Mary*—he, *Joseph*, who had married that virgin, having been fully informed from heaven of such event, because he *was* not going to retain [on the point of not retaining] *her* in marriage, *when* [*or, that was*] pregnant by another⁶—that “ He, *Jesus*, was born at Bethlehem ”—that “ He began to propagate (disseminate) His doctrine in Galilee ”—that “ He healed diseases of every kind : ”⁷ He gave sight to the blind—the power of walking to the lame.” But I am contented with one *fact*—the effect of which endures to this day :—It is very evident, from the prophecies of David, Isaiah, Zechariah (*Zachariah*), and Hosea, that “ the Messiah was to be⁸ the Instructor not only of Jews, but

¹ *LIT.*, “ which [things] since they are so.” The relative pronoun, “ *QUÆ*, which [things] ” is here used as a demonstrative. See note (1) page 72.

² “ Was guilty : ” [“ *noxia*,” or “ *crimine* ”] *teneri*, “ was “ implicated,” or “ involved in the guilt ” or “ charge.”

³ Or, “ Judas of Galilee.”

⁴ Barchobebas is described by Justin Martyr as the chief cause or leader of the apostacy of the Jews.

⁵ Isaiah vii. 14 ; Matt. i. 18, 22, 23 ; Luke i. 35.

⁶ Matthew i. 20.

⁷ “ Of every kind : ” “ *omne genus*,” for “ *omnis generis*.”

⁸ “ Was to be : ” “ *fore* ” (or “ *fuere* ”) is the *PRESENT* infinitive of the verb “ *sum*,”

also of other nations"—that, "through HIM the worship [*lit.*, worshippings] of false gods would drop, and a vast multitude of foreigners be brought over to the worship of the ONE GOD."

BEFORE the Coming of JESUS, almost the whole world was subject to false worships; AFTERWARDS, they began gradually to disappear; and not only individual persons, but peoples also, and kings, *began* to be converted to the worship of the "One God." These *things* were not owing to the Rabbins of the Jews, but to the Disciples of JESUS, and to their successors. Thus—"that people became the people of God, which before was not"—and there was fulfilled *that*, which had been predicted by Jacob, in Genesis xlix. [10,]—that "SHILOH would come, before the Civil power was utterly taken away¹ from the posterity of Judah:" which the Chaldean *paraphrast* and other interpreters expound of the Messiah, Whom foreign nations [*Gentiles*] also were to obey.²

§ XVIII.—A SOLUTION OF THIS *objection*, THAT SOME *things* ARE SAID to be NOT FULFILLED.

Here it is wont to be objected, that "some things are predicted, respecting the times of the Messiah, which are not seen fulfilled." But *those* which they adduce, are obscure, or admit of [*lit.*, receive] a different signification; on account of which, those which are manifest, ought not to be abandoned:—*such* as are the holiness of the Precepts of Jesus—the excellence of the Reward, and the perspicuous language *employed* in propounding that Reward: and when miracles are added to them, these ought to be sufficient for the purpose of *our* embracing His doctrine.

In order to *our* rightly understanding the "Prophecies," which are wont to be called by the name of "the closed Book," there is often need of certain aids of God, which are deservedly withheld from those who neglect revealed things.

Now, that the passages of *Scripture*, which they object *against us*, are to be VARIOUSLY explained, not even they [*the Jews*] themselves are ignorant; and if any one chooses³ to compare the ancient Interpreters,—who were in the Babylonian exile, or elsewhere—respecting the times of Jesus,—with those who wrote after the name of the Christians began to be hated⁴ amongst the Jews, he will find that the new⁵ interpretations *were* invented by party-spirit; whereas the other *interpretations* were formerly received,

and is equivalent to "esse;" but it has in most cases acquired a FUTURE signification, equivalent (as here) to "futurum esse."

¹ "Civil power was utterly taken away." Hyrcanus—the second of that name—of the Hasmonæan race, lost the "sceptre of the Jews;" which passed, by permission of the Romans, to Herod the Idumæan: In his time was Jesus born: but, though by Herod's usurpation the JEWISH SCEPTER was much shaken and weakened, yet it was NOT WHOLLY BROKEN AND ABOLISHED UNTIL the DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM by Titus, A. D. 70.

² Isaiah xi. 10.

³ *LIT.*, "if it pleases any one."

⁴ "To be hated:" "in odio esse"—a latin phrase. *LIT.*, "to be in odium."

⁵ Or "modern."

which sufficiently agreed with the sense of the Christians.¹ Not even they are ignorant, that many *things* in the Sacred Writings, are not to be understood according to the proper signification [*lit.*, the propriety] of the words, but in a certain figurative sense [*lit.*, in a certain figure of *speech*]: as, *for instance*, when "God" is said to have "descended" *from heaven*²—when "a mouth,"³ ears,⁴ eyes,⁵ and nostrils,"⁶ are ascribed to Him. Why, then, may not we, after this manner, also, explain very many (*or*, most) things, spoken concerning the times of the Messiah? *Such* as are *the following*:—that "the wolf shall stall along with the lamb; the leopard, along with the kid; the lion, along with the flock (cattle)"—that "an infant shall play with snakes"—that "the MOUNTAIN OF GOD shall rise up above other mountains, and that aliens [*Gentiles*] shall come THITHER, to perform sacred rites."

There are certain "Promises," which, from the antecedent or the following words, or even from *their* very signification (sense), CONTAIN A TACIT CONDITION in them. Thus,—“God PROMISED MANY *things* to the Hebrews, PROVIDED [if] THEY would RECEIVE the MESSIAH, *when* SENT, and would OBEY HIM;” and if those *things* do NOT come to pass, they have to take the blame⁷ to themselves. But some things, *that are* promised even definitely and unconditionally [*lit.*, without condition],—though they are not as yet fulfilled—may possibly STILL BE EXPECTED: for it is allowed even amongst the Jews, that the time or kingdom of the Messiah endures to the end of the world.⁸

§ XIX.—AND *an answer* TO THAT, WHICH IS OBJECTED—as *an argument against us*—WITH REGARD TO THE LOW (HUMBLE) STATE, AND THE *ignominious* DEATH, OF JESUS.

The humble condition of JESUS offends many, but without reason (unjustly); because God, everywhere in the Sacred Writings, says, that “By Him the humble are raised up, and the proud are cast down.”

“Jacob passed over Jordan” carrying nothing with him,⁹ but “his staff,” and “he returned thither, enriched with a very great quantity of cattle.” “Moses,”—an exile, and a poor *man*—“was feeding the cattle of *Jethro*, when God appeared to him in the Bush,” and committed to *him* the guidance of His people. “David,” in like manner, *when* “feeding *his* flock,” is called to “a kingdom;” and Sacred History is replete with many other such instances.

But, of the “MESSIAH,” we read,—that “He was to be a

¹ i. e. agreed with the sense in which the Christians understood those passages.

² Gen. xi. 5; xviii. 21.

³ Jeremiah ix. 12.

⁴ Psalm xxxi. 3.

⁵ Ibid xxxiv. 15.

⁶ Ps. xviii. 8; Jerem. xxxii. 37.

⁷ Or, “they have” [reason] why they should impute [it] to themselves!

⁸ Or, “of time.” *LIT.*, “of ages.”

⁹ *LIT.*, “except himself.”

joyful Messenger to the poor—that He would not set up a cry¹ (make a noise) in the street [*lit.*, in a public *place*,] or make use of contentions” (brawlings); but that “He would deal gently (act mildly)—so as to spare the shaken (shaking) reed, and that (*portion of*) heat which remains in the smoking flax”² [*lit.*, wick³].

[The “low condition of Jesus,” while He tabernacled upon earth, ought not to be, to Jew or Gentile “a stumbling-block :”] And no more ought His other misfortunes, and His *ignominious* death itself, to make Him odious to any one. For, it is evident that it is often permitted by God, that the *godly* should not only be harassed (vexed) by the ungodly—as Lot was, by the citizens of Sodom⁴—but also, *that they should be murdered by them*,—from the instance of Abel; *who was killed by his murderous brother*⁵;—of Isaiah, *who was cut asunder with saws*⁶;—of the *seven brethren of the Maccabees*,⁷ *who were tortured to death along with their mother*. The Jews themselves sing Psalm lxxix., in which are these words :—“They have given the dead bodies of Thy servants, for the food of the birds—and the remains of them, whom Thou, O God, lovest, to the beasts. They have poured out their blood within the boundary of Jerusalem; and there was not any one to bury them;”⁸ and such *words* as follow.

But that the Messiah Himself must needs⁹ pass through afflictions and death, to His Kingdom, and to the power of endowing His household with the greatest blessings, no one will be able to deny, who will be willing to apply *his* mind to those words of Isaiah (Esaias) in chapter liii. :—“Who¹⁰ hath believed our Report, and acknowledged the power of God? And that, for this *reason*, because He grew up, (rose up) in the sight of God,¹¹ as a tender shoot,¹² as grass out of sandy ground : in His countenance *there was* no beauty, no comeliness; nor, if you did behold *Him*, was there any thing which might attract (please) *you* : He was exposed to contempt, and He was as the most abject amongst men—having experienced many pains (griefs)—many sorrows. All *men* turned away themselves from Him : He was so much despised,¹³ and *was*

¹ “Cry,” etc. (Isaiah xlii. 2.) Easterns often raise a tumult, by crying out in the street, if they think themselves injured; for instance, when they lose their cause in a law-court.

² “Smoking flax;” The Jews employed flax, as we do cotton, for candles, or lamps. The allusion is to the wick, when the oil is nearly exhausted. See Isaiah xlii. 2—4; Matt. xii. 19, 20, which record several characteristics of the true Messiah.

³ “In the—wick : ellychnio.” ELLYCHNIUM is literally, “THE WICK of a lamp;”—but metonymically translated “flax.” ⁴ Gen. xix. ⁵ Gen. iv.

⁶ The Jews have a tradition to this effect; and St. Paul refers to it in Hebrews xi. 37 : and Josephus, Book X. c. 4.

⁷ See 2 Maccabees, ch. vii. : and Josephus, ch. ix. to ch. xiv.

⁸ *LIT.*, “who might” (or “who did”) bury them.”

⁹ *LIT.*, “ought,” or “was obliged.” Here “debuissé” is equivalent to “necesse erat.”

¹⁰ “Who”—“Who among men?” *LIT.*, “Who of how many : Quotus—quisque?”

An ironical form of interrogatory; which is intended to denote,—“How few!”

¹¹ *LIT.*, “[while] God [was] looking on.” ¹² Or, “as a Sucker”—from the Root.

¹³ “He was [a subject,” or “an object] for so great contempt”.

of no account (value). But, indeed, He endured our diseases,¹ He bore our calamities. We esteemed Him as struck from Heaven—as smitten and oppressed by God, but He was wounded on account of our sins—bruised on account of our crimes.

The punishment, which did procure safety (salvation) for us was laid upon Him. His stripes are offered (given) to us, as a remedy. For, assuredly, we all as sheep, have gone astray—hither and thither. God hath inflicted on Him the punishment that was due to our crimes: and yet—when he was oppressed and most grievously tortured, He uttered not a word; just as a lamb going to be slaughtered, or *as* a sheep which is to be sheared—*being* dumb *creatures*—are silent. After *His* bonds—after *His* sentence—He was borne away from among *men*; ² but, on the other hand, who shall be able worthily to declare the duration of His life? Verily, from this place, in which we live, He was taken away; but this evil befell Him on account of the wickedness of My people. He was given into the hands of the powerful and the ungodly—even to *His* death and burial; when, notwithstanding, He had done injury to no one, nor was any roguish deceit ever found in His speech.

But—although God suffered Him to be thus far bruised and afflicted with pains—yet because He has made Himself a sin-aton-ing Sacrifice,³ He shall see *His* posterity—He shall live a durable life; and the *things* which are pleasing to God, shall be happily attended to by Him. Seeing Himself freed from evil (*or*, the Evil *one*)—says God—He shall be satisfied with pleasure; chiefly, on this *account*, because, by His own Doctrine, My righteous Servant shall Himself justify⁴ many—bearing away their sins.—I will give to Him a distinguished portion, when the spoils shall be divided among the warriors; because He submitted Himself to death, and He was reckoned among the wicked; and when He bore the punishments of the crimes of others, He made Himself the Intercessor for the guilty.⁵

Which—either of the kings or the prophets—can be named, to whom these words would apply? Surely, none! Now, as to that *subterfuge*, which the more modern Jews have devised, *viz.*, that, “Mention is here made by the Prophet, *Isaiah*, of THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES (*lit.*, itself), dispersed over all nations,—that they [*lit.*, it] might, by their example and conversation, every where make many proselytes:” THIS SENSE—

(1) FIRST of *all*, IS REPUGNANT TO VERY MANY TESTIMONIES OF THE SACRED WRITINGS, which loudly declare, that “no evil

¹ “Diseases.” Abarbanel—on *Isaiah*—says, that the word “*morbos*” in the latin translation, and which the English translation renders “griefs,” applies to ALL kinds of EVILS.

² *LIT.*, “from the midst.”

³ “Sacrifice.” *LIT.*, “victim” slain as a Sacrifice.

⁴ *LIT.*, “absolve,” or “acquit.”

⁵ *Isaiah* prophesied of the sufferings, death and burial of Christ, 700 years before the Incarnation of the same—our once crucified, but now risen, and glorified Redeemer.

would happen to the Jews, which very *evil*, and much greater *ones* besides, they have not deserved by their deeds."

(2) NEXT, the VERY TENOR OF THE PROPHETICAL ORATION DOES NOT BEAR SUCH AN INTERPRETATION.

For, EITHER the PROPHET—which seems more agreeable to that place—OR GOD, says:—"This evil happened to HIM, on account of the wickednesses of MY PEOPLE."

Now, the people of ISALAH (Esaías), or even the peculiar people of GOD, are [*lit.*, is] the HEBREW people; wherefore, He, who is said by Isaiah (Esaías) to have endured *things* so grievous, cannot possibly be the SAME people!

The ancient Teachers of the Hebrews, more properly, confessed, that "these things were spoken concerning the Messiah:" which when some of the later *Hebrews* saw, they devised "two Messiahs," one of whom they call "the Son of Joseph"—who did endure many evils, and a cruel death—the other *they call* "the Son of David," to whom all things did succeed prosperously: although it were much easier, and more consonant to the Writings of the Prophets, to acknowledge *but* One, Who was to pass through misfortunes and death to *His* Kingdom—which we, *Christians* believe concerning Jesus; and the case itself shows (teaches) *us* is truth.

§ XX.—AND AS THOUGH¹ THEY WERE UPRIGHT MEN, WHO DELIVERED HIM UP TO DEATH.

A certain preconceived opinion—respecting the virtue and uprightness of their forefathers, and especially of the *Jewish* Priests, who out of (by) prejudice rejected (*lit.*, repudiated) Jesus—keeps many back from adopting the Religion [*lit.*, the Discipline] of Jesus.—But what sort of *persons* their forefathers often were,—that they may not think that I defame them—let them hear (*or*, they may hear) in the very words both of their own "Law and of the Prophets," by which they are often called "uncircumcised in ears and heart"—"a people who honored God with *their* lips," and with much preparation of ceremonies,² but, *who, were very far from Him in their mind!*"

Their forefathers were [*lit.*, have been] *they*, who did almost kill their brother Joseph,³ and in very deed sold *him* into slavery!

¹ "As though: quasi" takes the subjunctive mood after it.

² "Rituum apparatus," seems here to denote "the celebration of ceremonies at great cost, and with much pomp." The latin word, "apparatus," means "all that is requisite," i. e., "the apparatus."

³ "Who did almost kill their brother Joseph:" "qui Josephum fratrem suum PARUM ABFUIT, QUIN INTERFICERENT." The words in small capitals, are a latin phrase—the literal English rendering of which would be—"although they did not kill their own brother Joseph, little was wanting to" (or "it fell little short" of) their having done so. See Gen. xxxvii. 28, respecting the unnatural treatment which Joseph experienced at the hands of his own brothers. Dr. A. Clarke remarks: "This, I think, is the first instance on record of selling a man for a slave; but it had doubtless been practised long before."

Their forefathers also were *they* who drove Moses, their leader and deliverer—to whom the earth, sea, and air were obedient—to loathing [*or*, weariness] of *his* life by their continued mutinies (seditions)! Who spurned (disdained) the bread, sent to *them* from heaven—who complained, as if from extreme want, when they were still belching up the birds that *they* had eaten! Their forefathers were *they*, who, deserting David—so great and so good a king—followed *his* rebellious son (*Absalom*) [*lit.*, *his* son, a Rebel!] Their forefathers were *they*, who slew Zechariah [*lit.*, *Zacharias*, *or* *Zachariah*], the son of Jehoiada (*Joiada*), in the most holy place, making the Priest himself a sacrifice (*or*, the victim) of their cruelty!

Moreover, as to the High Priests,¹ they were such as plotted (planned) the death of Jeremiah by a false accusation, and would have effected it, if the authority of some of the Rulers had not prevented: However, they extorted *this* from the latter, *viz.*, that he should be held a captive, until² the very moment of the taking the city (*Jerusalem*)! [*Jeremiah xxxviii.*]

If any one suppose that they, who lived in the time of Jesus, were better, Josephus will be able to free him from this mistake—a *Jewish* historian, who describes their most atrocious crimes, and *their* punishments heavier than any³ *that were* ever heard of; and yet, as he himself is of opinion, below *their* desert!

Neither are *we* to think⁴ better of *their* Sanhedrim⁵—especially as (when) at that time, the members [the Senators] *thereof* were not wont to be chosen in, by the ancient custom, by the imposition of hands, but to be elected, at the nod of the powerful—as the High-priests also *were*, their dignity not *being* now perpetual, but annual, and oftentimes purchased!⁶

We ought not then to wonder, if men—puffed up with pride (arrogance), and insatiable in point of ambition and avarice—were driven into rage, at the sight of a man, who setting forth (introducing) the MOST HOLY PRECEPTS, used to reprove their life, by the very contrast.⁷ Nor *was any other thing* laid to His charge,⁸ but⁹ what *was* of old, *laid* to every very good man.¹⁰ Thus, that Micaiah (*the Prophet*), who lived in the time of Jehoshaphat [*lit.*, *Josaphat*] was put into prison,¹¹ because he fearlessly asserted the truth, in opposition to four hundred false prophets. Ahab [*lit.*, *Achab*] objected against Elijah (*Elias*), just as the *Jewish* Priests *against* Jesus, that he was *the person*, who did disturb the

¹ *LIT.* "As concerns the High Priests." See *Jerem.* xxvi.

² *Or*, "even to: usque ad." ³ *LIT.*, "than all." ⁴ *LIT.*, "is it to be thought [by us]."

⁵ A "Jewish Council of 72 elders," instituted 200 years, B.C.; which had the power of life and death, until the conquest of Judaea by the Romans.

⁶ See Josephus's "Jewish Antiquities."

⁷ "By the very contrast;" *or*, "by the difference itself," of their life from His.

⁸ *LIT.*, "imputed to Him for a crime." "illi crimini datum" is a latin phrase, which may be freely rendered—"[was] charged against Him."

⁹ *LIT.*, "than."

¹⁰ "Optimo cuique;" i. e., "every one so far as he is excellent."

¹¹ "In custodiam datus est" may be freely translated—"was imprisoned."

peace of Israel ! The same *thing* also was brought as a charge against Jeremiah, which *was brought against* Jesus—*viz.*, *his* “prophesying against the Temple !” Here ought to be added, the writing which the ancient Teachers of the Hebrews have left *us*, *to the effect*, that, “in the times of the Messiah men will be of dog-like impudence¹—of ass-like obstinacy²—of wildbeast-like savageness (cruelty).”³ God Himself, who had long foreseen⁴ what sort of Jews, for the most part, would be in the time of the Messiah, had declared, that “it would come to pass, that they [*lit.*, that that] which had not been a people, should be admitted as a people : and that out of the several cities and villages of the Jews, scarcely one [of a city] and two [of a family] should go to *His* Sacred Mountain ; but that that which was wanting to their number, strangers should supply : in like manner, *He foretold* that the Messiah should be the destruction⁵ of [*lit.*, to] the Hebrews ; but that “this stone which was rejected from the Building, by the Rulers, should be put in the CHIEF place, for the cementing (coagmentation) of the fabric (the work).”

§ XXI.—AN ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION, THAT “MANY GODS ARE WORSHIPPED BY THE CHRISTIANS.”

It remains, that we answer two accusations, with which the Jews assail both the DOCTRINE and the WORSHIP of the Christians.

The former of *which charges* is, in that they say, that “MANY Gods are worshipped by us :” But this is nothing, but a WRESTED explication of another’s tenet, out of hatred.⁶ For, what reason is there why this should be objected against the Christians, rather than against Philo, the Jew,⁷ who oftentimes affirms THREE *Essences* in God ? and he calls THE REASON—or THE WORD—of God, the name of God,⁸ the Maker of the world,—neither Unbegotten, as God, the Father of all, is,—nor so Begotten, as men are ;—WHOM both Philo himself, and Moses, the son of Neheman [or Nachman], also calls “the Angel,” or “the Ambassador, who takes care of this universe.” Or, [*why against the Christians, I say further, rather than against*] the Cabalists, who distinguish “God into THREE Lights ?” And some of *them* indeed, by the same names, as the Christians, of “the Father, Son, (or WORD), and Holy Spirit.” And—to take that *fact*, which is especially admitted by all the Hebrews—THAT “SPIRIT,” by which the Prophets were moved, is a Something not created ;⁹ and yet it is

¹ & ² Or, “in point of impudence, as dogs—in point of obstinacy, as asses—in point of cruelty, as wild-beasts.”

⁴ *LIT.*, “had long previously foreseen.”

⁵ Or, “a downfall :” *LIT.*, “for the downfall ;” or, “for the destruction.”

⁶ Or, “an exposition of a strange,” (or “foreign) dogma, distorted through hatred.”

⁷ “Philo, the Jew :” “Philo, Judæus” so called, because born of Jewish parents at Alexandria, so well read in Plato’s Philosophy, and so eloquent, that the Greeks said of him—“Aut Plato PHILONIZAT, aut Philo PLATONIZAT.”

⁸ “Name of God,” i. e., GOD HIMSELF.

⁹ Or, “is not any created [thing]”

distinguished from the Sender,¹ as also that *is*, which they commonly call "the Schecinah."²

Moreover, the Hebrews have recorded, that "that Divine Power [*or*, Divine Energy], which they call 'WISDOM' *was* to DWELL IN THE MESSIAH:" Whence the Messiah is called by the Chaldaean Paraphrast, "the Word of God;" so the Messiah is called by David, Isaiah (Esaia), and others, both by that venerable name [*or*, by that glorious title] of "God," and also of "THE LORD."³

¹ "From the Sender." Or, "from that [Essence] that sent [it]:" "a mittente."

² "The "Schecinah" may perhaps, though imperfectly, be described to be "a bright and luminous appearance, which symbolically represented the Divine Presence, and was seen to REST ITSELF, as it were, between the Cherubims over the Mercy-seat, when the Priest went into the Holy of holies. This was the peculiar glory of the First Temple."

³ Bishop Patrick translates the latin text—"augusto illo DEI, itemque DOMINI nomine"—thus: "by that august Name of God Jehovah, and also of LORD, viz." [quoting the two Hebrew words], "ELOHIM" and "ADONAI"—"For"—the Bp. goes on to remark—"so he (Grotius) explains himself in his annotations; and adds this observation, that the Talmud in Taanith says, that when the time shall come, spoken of xxv. Isaiah 8, 9, (i. e., of the Messiah) Jehovah shall be shown, as we say, with the finger; that is, men shall be able to point others to Him, saying, 'Lo! there is Jehovah.'"

(1.) The term "God" (in Hebrew, "Elohim;" in Latin, "Deus") is pure Anglo-Saxon; and, among our ancestors, signified not only "The Divine Being," but also "Good." They, no doubt, considered Him, as, emphatically, "The Good Being"—the Almighty Preserver and Sovereign Ruler, as well as the Creator, of the Universe.

"Elohim" is the PLURAL form of "el," or "eloah," and implies a Trinity of Persons in the Divine nature—and although this Hebrew word, translated "God," is a PLURAL noun, yet it is joined to a SINGULAR verb—thus pointing out the UNITY of the Divine Persons. "An eminent Jewish Rabbini (says Dr. A. Clarke) on the 6th section of Leviticus, has these remarkable words:—'Come and see the mystery of the word, ELOHIM. There are three degrees and each degree by itself ALONE, and yet, notwithstanding, they are all ONE, and JOINED TOGETHER IN ONE, and are NOT DIVIDED from each other.'"

(2.) As to the term "Lord" ("Adonai," and "Yehovah," in Hebrew—"Dominus," in Latin), it is a contraction of the Anglo-Saxon word, "Hlaford"—afterwards written, "Loverd;" and, lastly, "Lord:" Hence, our word "loaf;" and "ford," to supply, "to give out." The word, therefore, implies the "Giver of bread," i. e., He who deals out all the necessities of life. Our ancient English noblemen used to keep a constantly open house, where all their vassals and all strangers might enter, and eat "ad libitum:" and, hence, those noblemen had the honourable name of "Lords," i. e., "the dispensers of bread." With what propriety is the Almighty Giver of our daily bread—of every good and perfect gift—Who, liberally affords food for the body—and the bread that endures unto everlasting life for the immortal soul of man—called "THE LORD!" And how peculiarly does this word apply to the MESSIAH, who is emphatically called (in John vi.) "the Bread of Life—the Bread of God which cometh down from heaven, and which is given for the life of the world!"

"Adonai" is a word which the Jews, in reading the Old Testament, always substitute for "Yehovah," which latter word they will not utter, deeming it too holy to be pronounced by man; through a misconception of Exodus xx. 7. The former word often occurs in the Hebrew Bible, and in English is rendered "Lord,"—the same term by which the word "Jehovah," is expressed. But, in order to distinguish between "Yehovah" and "Adonai," the word "Yehovah" is always printed in capitals "LORD;" and "Adonai" in Roman characters "Lord" Although our Saxon ancestors translated the "Dominus" of The VULGATE, by one or other of three words named above; yet this is not to be understood of the fragments of their translations of the Old and New Testament which have reached us; for, in them, "Dominus," when connected with "Deus," is often omitted, and the word "God" substituted for both. At other times they used, instead of "Yehovah" and "Adonai,"—another term which they generally employed in the New Testament, to express "Dominus,"—which latin word may sometimes be rendered "Sir;" and, at other times, "Lord." It seems to have been applied as a title of respect to men: (see Matt. xiii. 27; xxi. 30.) Afterwards, it was applied to the Supreme Being also; and the title, "Lord," continues to be given to both indifferently, to the present day. (Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary.)

§ XXII.—AND THAT A HUMAN NATURE [*or*, BEING] IS [WAS]
ADORED *by the Christians.*

Equally ready is the answer to the other ¹ *charge*, which they make against us: namely, that “we (*Christians*) render the homage,² due to God *only*, to a Being made by God.” For, we say, “no other³ honor, or other homage, is paid by us to the Messiah, than Psalm ii.⁴ and Psalm cx. demand;”—that the former of which [*Psalm*] was fulfilled in David in an imperfect manner, but, in a more excellent sense⁵ belongs to the Messiah—even David Kimchi, a great opponent of the Christians, acknowledges; the latter *Psalm*, indeed, cannot possibly be explained of *any* other, but of the Messiah: for *the explanations* which more modern [later] Jews devise—some, of Abraham; others, of David; others, of Hezekiah (*Ezechias*), are frivolous. The Psalm itself is David’s, as the Hebrew title⁶ shows [*lit.*, teaches] us.

(1.) Therefore, that, which David says was “said to HIS Lord,” cannot possibly be applied to David himself, nor to Hezekiah—who was amongst the descendants of David—in nothing more distinguished [more excellent] than David.

(2.) Abraham, also, had not any exalted (eminent⁷) Priesthood; nay, Melchisedec⁸ blessed him,⁹ as [*one who blessed*] an INFERIOR to himself. But both this, and *that* which is added—concerning a “Sceptre being about to go forth out of Zion, and

¹ Or, “the second:” “*alterum*” literally means, “the one,” or “the other,” where ONLY TWO persons or objects are compared.

² Or, “the worship.”

³ “Other:” “*aliud*” is used, where MORE THAN TWO things or persons are referred to.

⁴ “Psalm ii.” This Psalm is primarily an inauguration hymn, composed by David, the Anointed of Jehovah, when crowned with victory, and on the Sacred hill of Zion. But in Acts iv. it is declared to be descriptive of the exaltation of the Messiah, and of the opposition raised against the Gospel, both by Jews and Gentiles. Many other Psalms besides the Second, and the hundred and tenth, referred to by Grotius,—although written for and used on special occasions—evidently apply to Jesus Christ. Consequently many Prophecies in the Bible must be taken in a DOUBLE SENSE. Our Lord Himself made a twofold application of them, and hence we are justified in so adapting the Prophecies.

⁵ Or, “more eminently:” *LIT.*, “more excellently.”

⁶ “The title,” or “inscription,” printed at the heading.

⁷ Or, “extraordinary.”

⁸ “Melchisedec,” or, (as written in the Old Testament, Gen. xiv. 18.), “Melchisedek,” means “King of righteousness.” He appears to have been a Canaanite, but, being righteous, was not involved in the curse pronounced against “Canaan,” i. e., against Canaan’s posterity. He united in his person, the office of “King” and “Priest.”—“Priest of the Most High God.” It was on this (latter) account, that Abraham acknowledged Melchisedec’s superiority, and paid him tithes of all his spoils. He is described by St. Paul (in Hebrews vii.) as “without father, without mother, without descent—having neither beginning of days, nor end of life,” i. e., no mention is made in, the “Public Register,” of his parentage, (as was done in the case of Jewish Priests, appointed by the Mosaic Law, who were all required to prove their descent from Aaron). And for this reason, that he might typically resemble Jesus, the Son of God, who was a Priest for ever, without deriving his pedigree from Aaron or from any other human being; Whose existence is from eternity. Various have been the opinion of commentators respecting Melchisedec. Some have thought him to be the Incarnate Son of God; being unwilling to allow that any mere man was superior to Abram. “But surely,” says Scott, “the Apostle would never have said that Melchisedec was ‘MADE LIKE to the Son of God’—or that Christ (quoting Psalm cx. 4) was constituted ‘a Priest for ever AFTER THE ORDER of Melchisedec.’—Such comparison would be making Christ ‘a type of Himself!’”

⁹ Or, “wished well to him.” *LIT.*, “prayed for his good,” or “wellbeing.”

to extend to the uttermost coasts"—plainly appertains (is appropriate) to the Messiah,—as similar passages,—which, undoubtedly treat of the Messiah,—make patent; nor have the more ancient Hebrews and Paraphrasts understood¹ *them* in another sense.²

(3.) Moreover, that JESUS of Nazareth is properly *the Person*, in Whom these things were fulfilled; I could believe, on the affirmation even of His disciples³ only—on account of their very great integrity: in the same manner as the Jews also believe Moses, respecting those things, which—without another witness *besides himself*—he declared *were* delivered to him by God.

But, besides this, there are very many and very powerful proofs of⁴ the Supreme Power, which we affirm that JESUS obtained: *For instance*, "He Himself *was* seen by many persons, after He had returned to life—seen to be carried up into heaven. Moreover, dæmons *were* cast out, and diseases cured BY HIS NAME ALONE," and the "Gifts of tongues" *were* given to His disciples, which [Gifts] Jesus Himself had promised as "Signs of His Kingdom"—Add to these *proofs*, that "His Sceptre"—that is, "the Word of the Gospel"—"gone forth out of Sion," by no human help, by Divine Power alone—"pervaded to the uttermost limits of the earth, and subdued nations and kings to itself,—exactly (*lit.*, entirely) as the Psalms had foretold.

The Jewish Cabalists assign a certain son of Enoch, a middle rank, (*or, place*), between⁵ God and men; but with no indication of a power so great!

How much more justly *do we, Christians*, assign HIM⁶ *such a position*, Who has given such proofs of Himself!⁷ Nor does this tend to the disparagement of God the Father—from Whom this Power of Jesus comes⁸—to Whom also it is *hereafter* to return⁹—and to Whose honor it is subservient.¹⁰

¹ *LIT.*, received.

² *LIT.*, "otherwise."

³ *LIT.*, "His disciples alone affirming [the fact]."

⁴ *Or*, "arguments for."

⁵ *Or*, "set a certain son of Enoch in the middle, between," etc.

⁶ "HIM"—"our LORD JESUS CHRIST." "For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and MAN. God—of the substance of the FATHER, begotten before the worlds (John xvii. 5, 24): And MAN—of the substance of His mother; born in the world (Matt. i. 23; also Isaiah vii. 14; Luke ii. 7; Gal. iv. 4; Heb. ii. 16, 17)." (See the "Athanasian Creed.") And 1st. as to his GODHEAD. The Arians (says Waterland) make of Christ "a created God," and call Him "God, only on account of His Office, and not of His Nature, or Unchangeable Substance!" For this reason, we are obliged to be particular, in expressing "HIS SUBSTANCE,"—as being "NOT FRAIL, MUTABLE, PERISHING—as the substance of creatures is—but ETERNAL, UNCHANGEABLE, and ALL ONE WITH THE FATHER." But 2ndly, as to His MANHOOD. The Apollinarian, and other, Heresies have pretended, "either that Christ had no human body at all, or that He brought it with Him from heaven, and took it not of the Virgin Mary!" We are therefore forced to be particular in this profession,—that "He was MAN, OF THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS MOTHER."

⁷ Either, "so great evidences of it" (*viz.*, OF HIS "SUPREME POWER"); Or, "so great tokens of His own personal [right]": "tanta—Sui [juris] documenta."

⁸ See what our Saviour Himself says to this effect. John v. 19, 30, 36, 43; vi. 38; 57; viii. 28, 49; x. 18, 29; xiv. 28, 31; xvi. 28; xx. 21; and the Apostolical Epistles, Heb. v. 5; Rom. vi. 4; 1 Cor. xi. 3.

⁹ St. Paul makes this avowal in 1 Cor. xv. 24.

¹⁰ John xiii. 31; xiv. 13; Romans xvi. 27.

§ XXIII.—THE DISMISSION OF THIS PART [V.] of the Work,
ACCOMPANIED WITH PRAYERS FOR THE JEWS.

That these *things* should be more minutely investigated, is not the *object* of this Work ; nor should we have treated of them at *all*, but in order that it might be made evident, that there is nothing in the "CHRISTIAN Religion," either impious or absurd ; which any one can possibly allege as an excuse, (*or*, can possibly pretend), why he cannot possibly embrace a Religion, endowed¹ with miracles² so great,—enjoining *Precepts* so virtuous,³—promising Rewards⁴ so glorious [so transcendent] !

For, he who has embraced it, must (ought) now to consult those Books,⁵ in which we have before shown, that the tenets of the Christian Religion are contained, with regard to peculiar questions.

That this may come to pass,⁶ God is besought *by us*, to illuminate the understanding of the Jews⁷ with His Own light, and to render *those* prayers effectual, which CHRIST Himself—even while hanging on the Cross—poured forth on their behalf !⁸

¹ Or, "distinguished" (LIT., "adorned").

² "With Miracles." LIT., "with wonders." Although we have many convincing proofs of the Divine mission of Christ, and the Divine Authority of His Religion, yet, undoubtedly, the strongest evidence of this arises from the wonderful and well-attested miracles, which He wrought from the beginning to the end of his ministry. (Bp. Porteus's "Christian Revelation.")

³ "Enjoining [precepts] so virtuous." The Precepts of Christ inculcated the purest and most perfect morality. (Ibid.)

⁴ "Rewards, etc. Jesus Christ promised to His disciples that they should hereafter partake, in heaven, of glorious Rewards—of pure, celestial, spiritual joys ; such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived." (Ibid.)

⁵ Locke, the Christian Philosopher—so highly renowned, (and justly so)—is said to have applied himself closely to the study of the Scriptures for 14 or 15 years, and to have spent the latter part of his life in little else ; and to have made the following reply to a person, who asked him 'What is the shortest and surest way for a young gentleman to attain the true knowledge of the Christian Religion ?' "Let him study the HOLY SCRIPTURES—especially the New Testament : For in them are contained the words of eternal life. They have GOD for THEIR AUTHOR—SALVATION for THEIR END—AND TRUTH, without any mixture, for THEIR MATTER."

⁶ LIT., "which that it may be done :—" "Quod ut fiat."

⁷ "The Jews." "For many hundred years they were made the objects of God's peculiar care. They were miraculously governed—instructed by inspired teachers—entrusted with the Oracles of God [contained in the Old Testament]—enriched in every way by the most extraordinary privileges (Deut. iv. 33 ; Isaiah v. 1—7) : yet generation after generation, they abused those privileges—they 'rebelled against God, and slew His Prophets ; at length they denied the Holy One and the Just, desiring a murderer to be granted to them ; they killed the PRINCE OF LIFE ;' and after His resurrection 'they counted the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and did despite unto the Spirit of Grace (Heb. x. 29)." "Nicholl's Help to Reading the Bible."

To the Jews, however, we (Gentiles) owe a lasting debt of gratitude, for their careful preservation, from mutilation and corruption, of the Old Testament, which has come into our own possession. And here the words of Beza deserve a place. He says,—"I would daily thus pray for the Jews :—O Lord Jesus ! Thou, indeed, justly avengest the contempt of Thyself, and that ungrateful people is worthy of Thy severest judgments,—but, O Lord, remember Thy Covenant, and pity them for Thy name's sake ; and grant that, by the knowledge of Thy word, and by the example of a holy life, we may, through the power of Thy Spirit, recall them into the right way, that Thou mayest be glorified for ever by all nations and people. Amen."

⁸ "Poured forth on their behalf." Our Blessed Lord,—more concerned for mankind, than about His own sufferings on the Cross,—prayed even for His murderers—i. e., for the Jews and the Gentiles ; thus exemplifying the same heavenly Spirit of forgiveness which He had taught His disciples to cherish, even towards their bitterest foes, and which in an eminent degree, He Himself had all along manifested. "Father," said

He, "*forgive them ; for they know not what they do.*" (Luke xxiii. 34.) Which words the late Rev. C. Wesley, in one of his hymns, has thus paraphrased—

"Forgive them, Father, O forgive :
They know not that by *Me* they live !"

THE END OF BOOK V.

BOOK VI.

§ I.—A REFUTATION OF MAHOMETANISM :—THE ORIGIN OF IT.

The Sixth Book—*which is* opposed to the Mahometans—instead [*or, by way*] of a Preface, traces (deduces) the judgments of God against the Christians, down to the very origin of Mahometanism :—that is to say, how that true and unfeigned piety—which had flourished among the Christians, *when they were* most grievously persecuted and oppressed—began by little and little to wax cold, from the *period* when it was brought to pass, by Constantine and succeeding emperors, that that profession was not only safe, but also honourable—the world being, as it were, thrust into the *Christian* church. *How* that, first of *all*, the Christian princes put no end¹ to waging war, even when they might enjoy² peace; [2] that the bishops contended very bitterly (sharply) with one another³ about the chief sees; and as, of old, the preferring “the Tree of Knowledge” to “the Tree of Life” occasioned the greatest mischiefs (evils); [3] *it was* so then also, that speculative learning⁴ was esteemed preferable to piety, and [4] a trade⁵ *was* made of Religion: The consequence of⁶ which was—that—after the example of them who built “the tower of Babel”—the rash affectation of things sublime produced different languages and discord; the common people observing which, *and* often not knowing whither to turn themselves—threw (retorted)⁷ the blame upon the Sacred Writings, and began to shun them as poisonous.

And Religion began every where to be placed—not in purity of mind, but (Judaism being, as it were, brought back *into the world*)—in ceremonies; and in those *things*, which imply in them, rather exercise of the body,⁸ than improvement of the mind; and also in a passionate love of the parties once chosen;⁹ and at length, it came to pass, that many were Christians in name, *but* very few in reality.

God overlooked¹⁰ not these faults of His people; but out of the farthest corner of Scythia¹¹ and Germany,¹² poured forth vast hordes of *barbarians*, as in a deluge, upon [into] the Christian world; and—when the very great slaughters (havocs) caused by

¹ Lit., “made no end.”

² Lit., “when it was permitted them to enjoy.”

³ Lit., “among themselves.” “Constantine the Great said, ‘there were so many contentions in the Church, that this single calamity seemed to exceed the the miseries of the former times’ (of persecution).” Bishop Jewell’s Apology of the Church of England, p. 35.

⁴ Lit., “inquisitive learning”—or “knowledge.”

⁵ “Artem” may also be translated “an art”—or “a profession.”

⁶ “Of” Lit., “to.”

⁷ Lit., “threw” (or “cast”) back.”

⁸ Or, “bodily exercise.” See 1 Tim. iv. 8; Coloss. ii. 23.

⁹ Or, “passionate zeal for those parties [or “factions”], once chosen.”

¹⁰ Lit., “winked,” or “connived at.”

¹¹ “Scythia.” The Huns; the Avars; the Sabiri; the Alani; the Euthaliæ; the Turks.

¹² “Germany.” The Goths; the Heruli; the Gepidæ; the Vandals; the Franks; the Burgundians; the Swedes; the Almans; the Saxons; the Varri; the Lombards.

them, had not proved sufficient¹ to reform the survivors—Mahomet,² by the righteous permission of God, planted a new religion in Arabia—such as fought in direct opposition³ to the Christian Religion; but which, in words, did some how (*or* in some degree) express the life of a great portion of the Christians. This religion⁴ was first received by the Saracens (who had revolted from the emperor Heraclius,) by whose arms⁵ Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persia, *was each*, in a short *time*⁶ subdued; afterwards, Africa, *was infested by them*, and even Spain, over the Sea. But as other *nations*, so especially the Turks, derived⁷ the power of the Saracens—they [*lit.*, itself] also *being* a very warlike nation; which⁸ *nation* after long contentions against the Saracens, being invited to *enter* into a treaty of *alliance*, readily [*easily*] adopted a religion that accorded with their own habits, and transferred the authority of the empire⁹ to themselves. Having captured the cities of Asia and Greece—and the success of *their* arms advancing—they came¹⁰ into Hungary and the borders of Germany.

§ II.—THE OVERTHROW OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MAHOMETANS, ON THE GROUND, THAT “NO INQUIRY MUST BE MADE INTO RELIGION” (*so they say.*)

This religion,¹¹ being evidently established (*lit.*, made) for shedding blood; delights much in ceremonies, *and* wishes itself to be believed, without any liberty to make inquiry¹²; for which

¹ Or, “had not sufficiently availed.”

² “Mahomet,” was born at Mecca, a city of Arabia. He commenced his impositions, when he was about 40 years of age in Mecca, which city was in consequence, much venerated by the Arabs and Mahometans. See note (?) page 41.

³ i. e., “directly confronting.” *LIT.*, “with a direct,” or “directed, front.”

⁴ i. e., the religion of Mahomet.

⁵ i. e., the arms of the “Saracens”—who embraced the Mahometan religion. God raised up the Saracens to be the instruments of His wrath, to punish those once flourishing Christian Churches, who leaving “their first love,” and their primitive simplicity, had become cold and worldly-minded, greedy of filthy lucre, indulging in schisms, and fierce contentions, and cherishing the most rancorous hatred towards each other.—The Saracens soon overran, with a terrible devastation, all the Eastern provinces of the Roman empire. ⁶ “In a short [time]”: “brevis [tempore]” or “spatio.”

⁷ Or, “took away.”

⁸ i. e., the TURKISH nation. Of the three great Tartar nations, the Turks alone have retained existence as an independent people. They first appeared, in the early part of the 11th century. It was by this capture of the imperial city of Bagdad, that they first commenced the career of victory, which soon enabled them to surpass the Saracens as a conquering power. Bagdad was taken, and an end was put to the temporary supremacy of the Caliphs, by Togrul Bey, A.D. 1055, in whose reign the Turkish nation also adopted the religion of Mahomet. Ten years after, the Turks, under his successor, Alp Arslan crossed the Euphrates, and by the permanent conquest of the Roman provinces of Armenia and Georgia, finally established themselves within the Greek empire. Both these conquests were completed about the year 1068. See “Forster’s Mahometanism unveiled.” ⁹ Or, “the imperial authority.”

¹⁰ “They came: *deventum est* [ab illis].” The third person singular of many verbs, especially those which express a movement, is used (like “*deventum est*”) impersonally; the personal subject being put in the ablative, with the preposition “a,” or “ab.”

¹¹ i. e., The religion of the Mahometans.

¹² Or, “without the freedom of enquiry.” *LIT.*, “with not any liberty of inquiring.” One form, in latin, of expressing the English word “without,” is by “*nullus*,” with a *noun*, in the ablative case; and agreeing with the said noun in gender and number—as *it does here*.

reason,¹ even the reading of books, which they account² holy, is interdicted to the common people. Which very thing is at once a manifest token of iniquity; for a commodity is deservedly suspected, which is thrust upon *us*, with this condition, *viz.*, that it must not be looked into.

True, indeed, it is, that all *men* have not³ equal ability [sagacity] for understanding all *things*,—that many *persons*—are carried away into error by pride—others, by *their* passions—and some, by custom; but the Divine goodness forbids *it* to be believed, that the way to eternal salvation cannot possibly be known by those, who seek it, without any regard of advantage or of honor; surrendering [submitting] themselves and all their *possessions* to God, and imploring Him for *His* assistance. And, surely, since God has implanted in the human mind a faculty of discerning,⁴ there is not any worthier portion of truth, upon which it can be employed than that *portion* which cannot be unknown⁵ without the risk of forfeiting (of losing⁶) eternal salvation.

§ III.—A PROOF AGAINST THE MAHOMETANS—OUT OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HEBREWS AND OF THE CHRISTIANS; AND, THAT THEY⁷ ARE NOT CORRUPTED.

Mahomet and his followers confess, that MOSES and JESUS also was *each* SENT BY GOD, and that *they* who FIRST TAUGHT the DOCTRINE (Discipline) of JESUS, were HOLY men.

But, in the Alcoran—*i. e.* the Law of Mahomet—how many things are related [recorded], quite contrary to the things handed down by Moses, and by the Disciples of Jesus! To take one instance out of many:—All the Apostles of Jesus testify with the greatest unanimity, (1) that “Jesus died on the Cross” (2) that “*He* returned to life within three days”⁸—and (3) that “*He* was seen by many.”

On the contrary, Mahomet teaches, that “Jesus was secretly conveyed (drawn), up into heaven”—and “that some effigy of Him⁹ was nailed [*lit.*, fastened] to the Cross *in His stead*—and, consequently, that Jesus *was* not dead, but that the eyes of the Jews *were* deceived”!

This objection cannot possibly be evaded, unless Mahomet say—as (what) he even does say—that “the Books—both of Moses and of the Disciples of Jesus—have not remained as they were [*lit.*, as they had been], but are corrupted”! But this fiction (falsehood) has already been refuted by us before, in Book III. (§ XV.)

Certainly, if any one should say, that “the Alcoran *is* corrupt-

¹ *LIT.*, “whence.”

² *LIT.*, “it accounts.”

³ “All [men] have not;” *LIT.*, “there is not to all [men].”

⁴ Or, “a power of judging.”

⁵ *LIT.*, “cannot possibly be ignored.”

⁶ Or, “without danger of losing.”

⁷ “They,” *i. e.*, the said Books.

⁸ *LIT.*, “within the third day.”

⁹ Or, “that a certain resemblance of Him.”

ed," the Mahometans would deny this, and say, that this *denial* was sufficient, in answer to *persons* who do not prove *their assertion*. But they would not be able to adduce such arguments, in defence of the purity of their book, as we adduce *in defence of that of our own Book—viz.,* with regard to copies *thereof* having been immediately dispersed throughout all the earth,¹ (and *that, too,* not as *those* of the Alcoran, in one language *only*) and *with regard to their* having been preserved by the faithfulness of so many sects, who differed about other things.

The Mahometans persuade themselves, that in chapter XIV. of the Gospel of John—where mention is made by *Christ* of sending "the Comforter" [*lit.*, "the Paraclete"]—there had *once* been something or other² written concerning Mahomet, which the Christians have erased! But here I wish³ to enquire of them—whether they would *have it*, that this alteration *was* made *AFTER* the coming of Mahomet, or *BEFORE*?

[1] *AFTER* the coming of Mahomet, it was plainly (or utterly) impossible to have been made, because, at that time, very many *Copies* were already extant over the whole world—not only Greek, but—Syriac, Arabic, and—in parts far distant from Arabia—Æthiopic and Latin copies, of more than one Version [*lit.*, not of one Version *only*]: all these, however, coincide in the passage *just mentioned*, without⁴ any variation of the text.⁵

[2] *BEFORE* the coming of Mahomet, there was no occasion for the alteration [*lit.*, no cause of altering]; for nobody could possibly know what Mahomet was going to teach. Nay, if the doctrine (dogma) of Mahomet contained nothing contrary⁶ to the doctrine (dogma) of Jesus, the Christians would not have been more backward⁷ in receiving his books, than they were in *receiving* the Books of Moses and the Hebrew Prophets.

Let us, on both sides, suppose, that nothing had been written,—either concerning the doctrine (dogma) of Jesus, or concerning *that* of Mahomet: equity (*in that case*) would teach *us*, that *that* is to be accounted as the doctrine (dogma) of Jesus, upon which [*doctrine*] the Christians⁸—and *that* as the *doctrine* of Mahomet upon which the Mahometans⁹—did *respectively* agree.

¹ *LIT.*, "over the circumference of the earth:" "per orbem terrarum."—The Romans used the phrase "orbis terrarum," when they spoke of the terrestrial world, as it was known to themselves.

² "Something or other: *Aliquid.*" See note (') page 52.

³ *LIT.*, "it pleases [me]: *libet* [mihi]."

⁴ "Without:" See note (") page 110.

⁵ *LIT.*, "of the Scripture."

⁶ "If the doctrine of Mahomet contained nothing contrary," etc., (which was not the case). This "if" is hypothetical. See note (*) page 50.

⁷ *LIT.*, "more difficult."

⁸ "The Christians" have no other "Bible," (which they regard as written by holy men under Divine inspiration) than the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

⁹ "The Mahometans." "The AL CORAN" (i. e., "the Book to be read," or "the Legend," which Mahomet forged in the cave of Hera, near Mecca, and which is divided into "Azoaras," or "chapters") is the only Bible of the Mahometans. See note (?) p. 41.

§ IV.—FROM A COMPARISON OF MAHOMET WITH CHRIST.

Let us now compare the ADJUNCTS AND QUALITIES OF EACH DOCTRINE, in order that we may see which of the two is to be preferred to the other : And, first, let us see *this*, with regard to *their* Authors.

JESUS, by the confession of Mahomet himself, was the Messiah promised in "the Law and the Prophets"; HE is called, by Mahomet himself, "THE WORD, THE MIND, AND THE WISDOM, OF GOD"—HE is said, by the same [*Mahomet*], to have had no Father from men. But MAHOMET is believed, even by his own *disciples*, to have been begotten in the ordinary course of nature.

JESUS *was* always of spotless life—against which nothing could possibly be objected ; MAHOMET *was* a long time a robber—always given to women.

JESUS *was* carried up into heaven—as Mahomet confesses : MAHOMET is confined [*lit.*, is detained] in a sepulchre.

Who cannot see, which of the two should rather be followed ?

§ V.—AND *from a comparison* OF THE DEEDS OF EACH.

Let the Deeds of each ¹ be added.

JESUS gave sight to the blind, the power of walking to the lame, health to the sick ; yea—as Mahomet confesses—even life to the dead : MAHOMET says, that he himself *was* sent *by God*—not with miracles, but—with arms. Notwithstanding, there have followed *him some* who ascribed miracles also to him ; but what sort ? namely,² (1) effects *such* as may easily be caused, either by human art ; as *that* of "the dove flying down to his ear !" Or (2) *those*, of which there are no witnesses—as *that* of "the camel speaking to him by night !" Or, (3) *such* as are refuted by their own absurdity—as *that* of "a great portion of the moon having fallen down into his sleeve, and of *its* having been sent back by him to restore to that planet *its former* rotundity !" Who would not say, that, in a doubtful cause, we ought to abide by that Law, which has, in its behalf, more certain attestations of DIVINE approbation ?

§ VI.—*From a comparison* OF THOSE, WHO FIRST RECEIVED EACH RELIGION.

Let us also *now* consider [*lit.*, see] those, who first adopted the one and the other ³ Law. *They* who embraced the Law of JESUS, were men who feared God—of innocent life : Now it is seemly for God, neither to suffer such *persons* to be deceived by crafty speeches,⁴ nor by pretended miracles.⁵ But *they*, who first adopted Mahometanism, were robbers—men estranged from humanity and piety !

¹ i. e., "of Jesus and of Mahomet."

² *LIT.*, "this and that."

³ *LIT.*, "by a pretence of miracles," or "of prodigies."

⁴ Or, "what sort, I pray ?"

⁵ *LIT.*, "by the crafts of speeches."

§ VII.—*From a comparison* OF THE METHODS BY WHICH EACH LAW WAS PROPAGATED.

It follows, that we show the method, by which each Religion was propagated.

With regard to the CHRISTIAN Religion we have several times already said, that the increase of it resulted¹ from MIRACLES, not only of CHRIST, but also *from those* of His DISCIPLES, and *from the miracles of men*, WHO SUCCEEDED THEM,—as well as, indeed, by *their* VERY PATIENT ENDURANCE OF CALAMITIES AND PUNISHMENTS.²

But the TEACHERS OF MAHOMETANISM WROUGHT NO MIRACLES,³—ENDURED NO GRIEVOUS TROUBLES AND SEVERE (cruel) KINDS OF DEATHS FOR THE SAKE OF THAT PROFESSION: But that religion follows, where arms lead the way [*lit.*, go], and is the companion⁴ [*lit.*, the accessory] of arms; nor do the teachers themselves bring forward *any* other argument in defence of it, but the success of *its* arms, and the greatness of *its* dominion—than which *things*, nothing, with respect to this matter, *is* more fallacious.

They themselves condemn (disapprove) the Paganish sacred *rites*: and yet we know how great the victories of the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans were, and how far their dominions extended! Neither *were* the results of wars always prosperous to the Mahometans. The defeats,⁵ which they have received, in very many places, by land and by sea, *are* notorious. They were driven out of all Spain!⁶

That thing cannot be an infallible (a certain) mark of the TRUE Religion, which is subject to [*lit.*, which has] changes so uncertain, and which may be common to good and bad: And so much the less,⁷ because their arms are unjust, since they are set in motion against nations—not annoying to them, and *which are known to them* by no injury *from those nations*; so that they cannot possibly allege anything, as a pretext for *their* ARMS,⁸ but Religion alone! which is most irreligious: for there is no worshipping of God, unless it proceeds from “a WILLING mind.”⁹

¹ LIT., “the increases” [or growths,] of it were.”

² Or, “of tortures.”

³ Even Mahomet never pretended to do miracles. On the contrary, he expressly disclaimed any such power, and makes several laboured and awkward apologies for not possessing it. Dr. Prideaux shows very fully, that this impostor did not dare to claim miraculous powers. The Mahometans, nevertheless, often did so, on his behalf!

⁴ Or, “the acquiescent.”

⁵ Or, “the slaughters.”

⁶ This occurred immediately after the taking of Granada, under Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year of our Lord 1491. (Dr. Spr. Madan.)

⁷ Or, “and the less so.”

⁸ “[Their] arms.” The Mahometans—in addition to the powerful attractions of sensual delights—had a still more efficacious mode of gaining proselytes,—viz., force, violence, and arms. They propagated their false religion by the sword. Mahomet, their Founder, preached the Koran, at the head of his armies. His religion and his conquests went on together; and the former never advanced one step without the latter. He commanded in person in eight general engagements, and undertook, by himself and his lieutenants, fifty military enterprises. Death or conversion was the only choice offered to idolaters, and tribute or conversion to Jews and Christians. (Bp. Porteus.)

⁹ “A WILLING mind.” JESUS employed no other means of converting men to His

Now, the will is inclined (allured) by instruction and persuasion [*lit.*, by teaching and persuading]—not by threats—not by force.¹ *He*, who believes—having been compelled, does not *really* believe, but pretends that he believes, that he may escape *some* evil. *He* who wishes to extort assent,—from a sense, or a dread, of evil,—shows by that very *thing*, that he distrusts arguments.

And again, *they* themselves destroy this very pretext of Religion, since they allow *those*, who are brought under *their* dominion, to enjoy [*lit.*, to make use of] whatever Religion they please; yea, and, sometimes, they openly acknowledge, that “Christians may be saved by their own Law!”

§ VIII.—*From a comparison OF THE PRECEPTS, of Jesus and Mahomet, ONE WITH THE OTHER.*

Let us compare the PRECEPTS also, one with the other [*lit.*, between themselves].

On the one hand, Patience is enjoined; yea, and kindness towards *those* who wish ill to *us*:² On the other hand, Revenge!³

On the one hand, the bond of matrimony *is enjoined as perpetual*, with a mutual toleration of *each other's* behaviour [*lit.*, manners]: On the other hand, a liberty of separating *is given*. Here, the husband performs himself, what he requires of *his* wife, and he shows (teaches) *her*, by his own example, *that her* affection ought to be fixed on only one *husband*.⁴ There, women, one after (upon) another, *are allowed*—as being always new provocatives of lusts!⁵

Here, Religion *is* restored (recalled) inwardly to the mind; that, being well cultivated there, it may bring forth fruits profitable to mankind. There, it (*lit.*, the same) spends almost its whole force in circumcision, and in other things, indifferent in themselves.

Here, a moderate use of meats and wine is allowed: There,

Religion, but persuasion, argument, exhortation, miracles, and prophecies. He made use of no other “force,” but “the force of truth”—no other “sword,” but “the sword of the Spirit, i. e., the Word of God.” He had no carnal weapons, no legions, of this world, to fight His cause. He was the PRINCE OF PEACE, and preached peace to all the world. Without power, without support, without any followers but twelve poor humble men, without one circumstance of attraction, influence, or compulsion. He triumphed over the prejudices, the learning, the religion of His country; over the ancient tribes, idolatry, and superstition; over the philosophy, wisdom, and authority of the whole Roman empire. (Ibid.)

¹ “He, who’s constrain’d, against his will,
Is of his own opinion still.”—(Hudibras.)

² “CHRIST was meek, gentle, benevolent, and merciful.”

³ “Mahomet was violent, impetuous, and sanguinary.”

⁴ “Jesus confined all His followers to ONE WIFE, and forbad divorce, except for adultery only. He even required them to govern their eyes and their thoughts, and to check the very first rising of any criminal desire in the soul. He assured them, that none but ‘the pure in heart, shall see God.’”

⁵ “Mahomet allowed his followers a liberal indulgence in sensual gratifications: no less than four wives to each Mahometan, with the liberty of divorcing them thrice!” (Hp. Porteus.) He also granted them the persons of all his captives. ‘God,’ said he, ‘is minded to make His religion light unto you’ (addressing his adherents); ‘for man was created weak.’ How different this, to the unaccommodating purity of the Gospel of Christ!

the eating [*lit.*, to eat] of a swine, *and* the drinking [*lit.*, to drink] wine, *is* forbidden'; which is the great gift of God, *intended* for the good of mind and body, when taken moderately, [*lit.*, in moderation].

And, indeed, it is no wonder, that childish elementary instructions, (puerile rudiments), as it were, should have prevailed (should have gone forth) BEFORE the *publication* of THE MOST PERFECT LAW *such as that* of Christ is—but, AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF IT, to return to figurative representations, *is* preposterous: Nor can any reason be alleged, why it was (may have been) proper that ANOTHER religion should be promulgated (produced), AFTER the CHRISTIAN Religion, (*which latter is*) by far the best of *all*!

§ IX.—A SOLUTION OF THAT, WHICH THE MAHOMETANS OBJECT—
CONCERNING THE SON OF GOD.

The Mahometans declare, that "they are offended, because we assign A SON to God, whereas HE DOES NOT MAKE USE OF A WIFE;" as if the word "Son," in reference to God, [*lit.*, in God], could not possibly have a more Divine signification!

But Mahomet himself ascribes many things to God, no less unworthy of *Him*, than if it were said that He has a wife: for instance, that "God has a cold hand! and that himself experienced it by a touch! That He is carried in a chair!" and such like [*lit.*, the like to these *things*].

But we, when we call JESUS "the SON of God," mean the same thing that he (*Mahomet*) himself [*did*], when he calls Him "the WORD of God;" for a word [*or*, the Word] is in some peculiar manner,² produced from the mind [begotten of the Spirit.]

Add, moreover, that He was born of a virgin by the sole operation of God, supplying the power (the efficacy) of a Father—that He was taken up into heaven by the power of God: which things, and those acknowledged by Mahomet, show—that JESUS may possibly, and ought necessarily, by some DISTINCTIVE [*lit.*, singular] RIGHT, to be called "THE SON OF GOD."

§ X.—*There are* VERY MANY ABSURD THINGS IN THE MAHOMETAN BOOKS.

But, on the other hand, it would be tedious to relate how many *things* there are in the Mahometan writings, at variance with the truth of history—how many *things* quite ridiculous!

Such is the myth (the story) of "a beautiful woman, who had learned a solemn charm (*or*, a famous song) from drunken angels

¹ He prohibited the use of wine, among his followers, because, while his army was abroad on expeditions against neighbouring Arabs, some of his principal men so quarrelled over their cups, that they had well nigh frustrated his plans: And he backs his prohibition with a fable of two drunken angels, etc. Mahomet did not, however, forbid wine to be drank, until his military successes had completely established his authority. The same observation holds respecting the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.

² *Or*, "in some way of its own." "Suus" ("its own") may, however, sometimes be rendered "peculiar."

[*lit.*, from angels overtaken with wine]; by which *charm* she is wont to ascend into heaven, and to descend from it,¹ and that when she had ascended to a great height of heaven, *she was* apprehended by God, and fixed there,—and that she is the star ‘Venus’!” Such is that of “a mouse in Noah’s Ark, being produced from the excrement of an elephant! and, on the contrary, *that* of a cat *being produced* from the breath of a lion!” But, particularly, that of “Death, to be transformed into a ram, which is to stand ² in the middle space between heaven and hell!”³ That of “banquets, in the other life, to be carried of (voided) by perspiration!” And that of the “troops of women, to be assigned to every *man* for sensual pleasure [*lit.*, for the pleasure of copulation]!” Which *things*, really, are all such absurdities, that it is fitting that they who give credence to them, should be given up to stupidity (senselessness)—especially when the light of the Gospel is shining around them.

§ XI.—THE CONCLUDING ADDRESS [*lit.*, THE PERORATION] TO THE CHRISTIANS, WHO ARE ADMONISHED OF THEIR OWN DUTY, ON [*lit.*, FROM] THE OCCASION OF THE AFORESAID THINGS.

Having ended this last disputation [This last disputation being dismissed] *against Mahometans*, there follows the Conclusion [the Peroration] *of the whole*—not now to strangers,⁴ but—to the Christians, of every race (description) and denomination. Showing, briefly (summarily), the use of those things, which have been said hitherto;—both in order that such *things* as are right may be done, and such as *are* wrong may be eschewed.

I. *As to Christianity.*

First *of all*—*showing*, that they should lift up undefiled hands to that God, Who made all things, visible and invisible, out of nothing; with a sure confidence that He takes care of us, since not even a sparrow falls *to the ground* without His permission: And that they should not fear them, who can only hurt the body,—before Him, Who hath [*lit.*, to Whom there is] an equal power [a legal right] both over body and over soul: That they should trust not only in GOD THE FATHER, but in JESUS also; because there is no other (not another) name on earth, which can save us, [*lit.*, can render us safe]: And that they would do this aright, if they have *previously* reflected, that *those* will live for ever—not who, with the voice *only*, call the Former [*or*, the One], “Father,” and the Latter [*or*, the Other], “Lord,” but—who conform (*or*, frame) *their* life to [according to] THEIR [*the Father’s and the Son’s*] joint will.

¹ LIT., “by which ascent is wont to be made [by her] into heaven, and descent to be effected from it.” ² LIT., “to stall”—*or*, “to stand as in a fold.”

³ “Hell.” *Or*, “the infernal” [regions]: “inferos [manes];” LIT., “[the manes], *or*, “the souls] below,” i. e., of those human beings who have departed this life.

⁴ “Strangers” (*or*, “foreigners”)—i. e., “Pagans, Mahometans, and Jews.”

(2). Next, they are admonished, carefully to keep (to guard) the holy doctrine (dogma) of CHRIST, as a most precious treasure, and, for that purpose also, often to read the Sacred Writings,—by which no one can possibly be deceived, except he who shall have previously deceived himself. For, *we have shown*, that the Writers of them were both too faithful and too full of Divine inspiration [*lit.*, more faithful and more full of Divine inspiration], than to defraud us of a necessary truth, or to involve the same in any obscurity [*lit.*, to cover the same with any cloud], but, *they show* that a mind, prepared for obedience, must be brought. If that be done, *they declare* that none of those things will escape us, which ought to be believed, hoped for, or done, by us; and that, by this means, the Spirit would be stirred up within us, Which is given *us*, as a pledge of *our* future happiness.

II. *As to Paganism.*

Moreover, they are TO BE DETERRED FROM IMITATION OF THE PAGANS:—

First, IN *their* WORSHIP OF FALSE GODS—which are nothing but empty names, which evil spirits (dæmons) make use of to turn us from the worship of the true God: wherefore, *they are shown*, that we cannot possibly participate with them in rites [*lit.*, in sacred things], in such a way that, at the same time, the sacrifice of CHRIST, also, may profit us.

Secondly, IN *their* LICENTIOUS MANNER OF LIVING—that has no other law, but *what is* dictated by lust; from which [*or*, wherefrom, *lit.* whence] Christians ought [*lit.*, it should behove Christians] to be furthest removed; who ought¹ not only greatly to excel the Pagans, but also the Scribes (the Lawyers) and the Pharisees of the Jews, whose righteousness,—consisting in some outward performances,—is not sufficient in order that they may attain [that attainment may be secured *by them*] to the Heavenly kingdom.

III. *As to Judaism.*

They have been admonished, that the Circumcision made by hand, is of no worth (avail), but *that* other, which is inward, *that* of the heart,—the keeping of God's commandments,—the new creation (*lit.*, the new workmanship) *that* is efficacious in loving.—These are the *distinctions* by which the true Israelites may be recognized—the mystical Jews,—that is, the praisers of God. *They have also been admonished*, that the distinctions of Meats—the Sabbaths—the Festival-days—are *only* “the shadows of the things,” which exist in Christ and in Christians.

IV. *As to Mahometanism.*

On the occasion of Mahometanism, these admonitions are adduced, *viz.*, *that it was* foretold by *our* LORD JESUS, that, after His time, there would come some, who would falsely say, that

¹ “Who ought,” or, “because they ought.”

they *were* sent by God; but that, even if an angel did come from heaven, no other doctrine (dogma) is to be received, but that of CHRIST—a doctrine proved by so many testimonies. For that God, indeed, in times past, spake in many and various ways to the pious who were *then* in existence; but that, at last, He was pleased to address us by His own Son—the Lord of all things—“the brightness of His Father’s glory, the express image of His Substance”—by Whom *those things* were created, which were, (*lit.*, which have been), or shall be—Who doeth and upholdeth all *things* by His own power, and—having expiated our sins,¹—has obtained a dignity above the angels, being advanced to the right *hand* of God; and, therefore, nothing more noble [*lit.*, more magnificent] can possibly be expected, than such a Lawgiver [*lit.*, Law-author.]

On the same occasion (*viz.*, of *Mahometanism*) I also recall to their mind [recall is also made *by me* to their mind], that the weapons, appointed for the soldiers of CHRIST, are not such as Mahomet relies on, but proper (peculiar) to the *Holy Spirit*, fitted for demolishing strong holds (*lit.*, fortifications) which exalt (*lit.* set up) themselves against the knowledge of God; *putting on* for a shield, Faith (*lit.*, Confidence), which may repel the fiery darts of the devil; for a breastplate, Righteousness, or Uprightness of life; for an helmet,—which may protect (*cover*) *that side* which is weakest,—the Hope of eternal salvation; but, for a sword, the words delivered by God, *which* penetrate the innermost parts of the soul.

After these *admonitions*, there follows an exhortation—*applicable*

V. *To all sects and persons*—to mutual agreement, which CHRIST, *when departing from earth*, so earnestly (seriously) commended to His *disciples*: That there ought not to be many masters [*lit.* doctors] amongst us, but that only one, *viz.*, JESUS CHRIST—*ought to be our Master*: That all Christians *are* baptized into the same Name; that therefore, there ought not to be sects and schisms amongst them; and that, at length, some remedy may be applied to these *dissensions*, those apostolical sayings are furnished (*or* are suggested): *viz.*, to be soberly wise, according to the measure of knowledge, which God has dealt (meted out) to every one. If any person do not understand all things [*lit.*, understand all things in a less degree *than others*], that their infirmity *is* to be borne with in order that they may, peacefully and without brawlings, coalesce with us. If any excel the rest in understanding, that it is reason-

¹ “Having expiated our sins.” It is here due to the principles of Grotius, to remark that he does not translate the (Greek) text of Heb. i. 3, in the *PRESENT* tense, but in the *PAST* tense “*expiatis peccatis nostris.*” And (says Bp. Patrick) in his (Grotius’s) letter to Vossius, he observes (against his enemies who accused him of Socinianism) that his opinion of the Satisfaction made by CHRIST would appear plainly enough from his translation of the liii. of Isaiah, Bk. v. § xix., and from the conclusion of this Work, that he does not translate the passage “*MAKING A PURGATION OF,*” or, *EXPIATING, OUR SINS,*” as Socinus does—but “*HAVING EXPIATED,*” or, “*HAVING PURGED AWAY, our sins.*”

able that they also excel in goodwill toward the rest ; but that they, who think differently (otherwise) on any point, *are* to wait until God reveal the hidden truth to them also : That, in the meantime, *those things*, respecting which there is agreement *amongst mankind*, are to be held fast, and to be fulfilled in the performance of *them* : That they are now known *only* in part, but that the time will come, when all things must be most certainly known.

This *favor* individuals are asked—viz. that they do not keep *as* useless, the talent entrusted to them ; but that they bestow all *their* pains to win (to gain) others to CHRIST. *Moreover, they are admonished*, that, for this purpose, not only RIGHT and WHOLE-SOME DISCOURSES must be employed, but also A PATTERN (an example) of a REFORMED LIFE ; that, by (from) the servants, a judgment may be formed of the goodness of the Master, and by (from) *their* actions,—of the purity of *His* Law.

In the last place, *my* Discourse returning—to that *quarter*, from which ¹ it had digressed² *viz.*,—to common readers,³ beseeches them if there is any good herein, to give thanks to God for it : If any thing do not please ⁴ *them*,—to have a consideration, as well of men's general (common) nature, which is prone to many errors, as also of the time and the place,⁵ in which this Work—“*On the Truth of the Christian Religion*”—was poured forth, with more truth, [*or*, more truly poured forth], than elaborated.

¹ “From which” LIT., “whence.”

² “Had digressed.” Or, “had set out.”

³ “Common readers.” Or, “readers belonging to my country.” See § 1. Book I, respecting the *DESIRE* of this “Work.” Grotius hoped that the latter would be the means of civilizing the manners of the rude seamen of his native country, and of instilling a sense of piety into them. And not only so, but that they would convey his rhymes to other nations, with whom they traded. This work was so popular, that a great man in France (into which Grotius went in 1621) very often asked him, what were the contents thereof. He satisfied the inquirer's curiosity by translating the sense of it into the Latin tongue, in the year 1628 : and dedicates it to him (viz. to Hieronymus Bignonius).

⁴ Or, “displease.” LIT., “please in a less degree.”

⁵ Grotius both here and in § 1., Book I., alludes to his unjust incarceration in (what he elsewhere when writing to a friend calls “a sepulchre”) the Castle of Louvestein, in South Holland. His judges sentenced him to PERPETUAL IMPRISONMENT there, where he wrote in poetry, in his native—the Dutch—language, this world-renowned Treatise, “ON THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,” which in A. D. 1628, when he was a free-man, he rendered into LATIN prose. He also composed some other publications.—His committal to prison took place, June 6, 1619. But his faithful and affectionate wife, who was permitted to visit him twice a week, and convey to him linen and books,—at length (under pretences of removing his linen, in order to be washed, and his books, in order to be returned,) managed to get him safely out of his dungeon, by placing him in a trunk with holes bored through it, to enable him to breathe—on the 22nd of March, 1621.

N. B.—Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot) was born at Delft, in Holland, on April 10th, A. D. 1583 ; and died, from the effects of a cold, at Rostock, August 28th, 1645. Almost his last words were, “I place all my hope in JESUS CHRIST.”

THE END OF BOOK VI.



